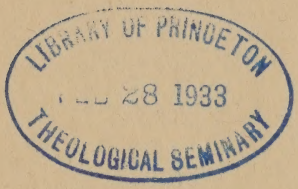

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O'er land and sea with the
apostle Paul

O'ER LAND AND SEA WITH THE APOSTLE PAUL

O'er Land and Sea With the Apostle Paul

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By
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Introduction by
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To
the Memory of
BRUCE ALEXANDER ACTON
Whose short life of seventeen
years and nine months has been,
and will continue to be,
an inspiration to
his father.

INTRODUCTION

IN the earlier part of the present century the name of Paul was under a cloud. It was rightly felt that the older theology had leaned too much on him, and that his interpretation of the Gospel had been put in the place of the Gospel itself. So in the effort to re-discover the true message of Jesus there was a disposition to make little of Paul and his teaching. We were told that instead of advancing Christianity he had perverted it. All that he had done and taught must be cleared out of the way before we could rightly understand Jesus.

There are still those who would disparage Paul, but no one listens to them seriously. Nothing is more remarkable in the more recent theological literature than the growing interest in Paul. He is studied from every point of view more deeply than ever before, and his importance becomes ever more apparent. Some of the claims that were formerly made for him have been abandoned, and to that extent the hostile criticism has had its effect. But a truly great man never loses anything when false ideas about him are dispelled. Seen as he really was he is found to be greater than when he was clothed in a disguise by mistaken disciples. This has certainly been true of Paul. No one would now say that he was "the second founder of Christianity," and he himself disowned any such presumption. But it is acknowledged by all students of Christian history that he did more than any other man to shape our religion. He was at once a missionary, a thinker, a writer and a statesman. Most men who turn their hand to many things make only a moderate success of any of them; but in everything he did Paul achieved greatness. He was the missionary who established Christianity as a world-wide power. He was the thinker who created Christian theology. He was

one of the world's immortal writers. He organized the church on the lines on which it has been building ever since. Few men have been endowed with such a variety of marvellous gifts; and even more wonderful than his gifts was the personality of the man, as we know it through the record of his life and the unconscious revelation which is given us in his own letters. He united in himself types of character which we are wont to think of as mutually exclusive. He was at once a practical man and a mystic, a logician and a poet, a born aristocrat and the humblest, most sociable of men. He was stern and inflexible and yet possessed the faculty, in a unique degree, of becoming all things to all men. No one had so many enemies, but wherever he went he exerted a strange power and attraction. Perhaps the most impressive episode in the life of Paul is that of the shipwreck, so vividly described in the book of Acts. Paul had gone on board that vessel as one of a large gang of prisoners, herded together like cattle. Before the voyage ended he was the virtual master of the ship. Every one looked to him for direction and took his orders as a matter of course. We do not wonder. There was a force and natural royalty about the man which we feel still, as those rough seamen felt it two thousand years ago.

Paul was not only a great man, but one of the most interesting men in history. Great men, it must be admitted, are sometimes painfully dull. We admire them more as statues than as human beings. We are glad to turn from their pompous deeds and sayings to the story of some quite ordinary person who behaved as if he was really alive. Paul was no graven image. He had weaknesses and limitations, and an infinite wealth of sympathy. His religion, which has so often been foolishly construed as a system of doctrines, was, at the heart of it, a burning passion of love for Jesus Christ. The life of Paul is one of the world's great stories of adventure, but the stirring events are not half so interesting as the man; or rather, they are chiefly interesting because Paul is the hero of them. His character in all its aspects is a fascinating study. Psychologists are never weary of probing and explaining it, with very indif-

ferent success. The plain man seeks for no explanation, but delights in the character as it is, and feels its charm and mystery. Paul has taken a unique hold on the imagination. If he had not been a great Apostle he would still be worth remembering, just as a man.

Mr. Acton has told the story of Paul's life in the present book. Within the last generation a flood of light has been thrown on the age in which Paul lived, and therefore on Paul himself. The New Testament records have also been more keenly scrutinized, and have yielded secrets of which the older historians knew nothing. Mr. Acton has availed himself of all this new knowledge, and his book, although it is written in a vivid and simple style which any one can understand, is based on real scholarship. It deals with the teaching as well as the action of Paul. The Apostle has himself told us that his life was inseparable from the things which he thought and believed. "For me to live is Christ." "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." Mr. Acton has combined with his narrative a full study of the Epistles, so as to illuminate the mind of Paul. The aim of the book, however, is not to expound Paul's theology but to set the Apostle himself before us, in all his rich and noble personality. Mr. Acton has written with a genuine enthusiasm, as every writer on Paul ought to do. There can be no lukewarmness in our attitude to this Apostle, who was himself one of the most ardent natures of whom we have any record. In his lifetime he awakened either strong hostility or intense admiration, and it has been the same ever since. This book is written by one of Paul's whole-hearted admirers, and his readers will catch his enthusiasm. If it is true that we know Christianity best by the study of some actual man or woman who has lived by it, Mr. Acton has written a book of the highest religious value. He has given us a lifelike picture of the man who may fairly be ranked as the very foremost of the servants of Christ.

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AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

IT may seem an audacious thing to bring out another book on Paul; but I believe there is need for such a work. In the literature on the subject it is difficult to find, within the covers of one book, a complete survey of the Apostle's life, together with some account of his letters, apart from the intricate problems of criticism which present themselves continually to the student of Paul. This I have tried to do, including also some discussion of the Pauline church, Paul's use of miracles, and the question of the Pastoral Epistles. This problem of the Pastorals has to be faced in any life of Paul because its solution must affect the view we take of the closing years of his life.

In this volume I have endeavoured to tell in popular language the story of the world's greatest missionary. How well I have succeeded the reader must be the judge. I believe the work will be of value to the busy pastor lacking the necessary time to delve into the history of Paul's life. There is no life richer in material for evangelistic preaching, and none that will better repay the time spent in the study of it. I believe also that a popular presentation of the subject will appeal to the lay reader, anxious to familiarize himself with the facts of the life and work of the great missionary, apart from the technical problems of New Testament criticism. Theologically the material has been presented from a conservative view-point while taking into account all that modern scholarship has advanced upon the subject.

In preparing this work I have been interested primarily in the missionary procedure of Paul and have made no attempt to discuss such problems as Paul's relation to the church at Corinth, the north versus the south Galatian theory, or the problems of Paul's theology. What has been said of the Apostle's teaching has been by way of an attempt to show

that his message was, after all, a plain and simple presentation of Jesus as the Son of God and the Saviour of the world. Questions such as I have indicated above as having been omitted from this work have little to do with the missionary methods of Paul.

My dependence upon those who have worked in the field before me will be apparent on every page. In the presentation of Paul's life no claim to originality of material can be made. The only real sources of information we have are the Acts of the Apostles and the letters of Paul. This material I have endeavoured to present plainly and without too many suggestions and inferences.

In this attempt to popularize the life story of the great Apostle, this book is presented with the hope that it may give to the reader even a small part of the pleasure and profit it has given me in its preparation and presentation.

A. A. A.

Belvidere, N. J.

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I

SAUL OF TARSUS

"I am a Jew, born in Tarsus."

IN a famous city of Asia Minor, in the reign of Cæsar Augustus, there lived a boy who was destined to have an enormous influence upon the civilization of succeeding generations of men. In the providence of God, this boy, grown to manhood, was to become a scholar, preacher, writer, hero and missionary, all in one. He was to become the greatest of that long line of men who have left their "footprints on the sands of time."

While this boy was playing about his home, a Jewish home in a famous Greek city, other youths were learning the trade of fishermen upon the Sea of Galilee. They were being taught to cast and to mend their father's nets. These were Andrew and Peter, and the two sons of Zebedee, James and John. Meanwhile, in the old city of Hebron, another boy was growing up. He was the son of a priest, and he was destined to become a great preacher and prophet, to call men to repentance and to preach the coming of the kingdom of heaven. His name was John, and he was known later as the Baptist. While Paul was in Tarsus and the young fishermen of Galilee were learning their first lessons on the sea, and John was being prepared for his work as the forerunner of the Messiah, Jesus was apprenticed to the trade of a carpenter in the little town of Nazareth. Strange that in the providence of God all these were to be brought into the same work of preaching a new faith that was to "turn the world upside down"; John to prepare the way by his preaching of repentance from sin; Jesus, as the Son of God, to preach a new faith and to lay the foundations of a new religion; the Galilean fishermen to become fishers of men; and Paul to be-

come the greatest missionary of the ages, advancing that faith from Jerusalem to Rome.

Paul described his birthplace as "no mean city." Tarsus was situated some five hundred miles northwest of Jerusalem, on the Cydnus River, twelve miles inland from the Mediterranean Sea. The river was navigable for these twelve miles and the city was a cosmopolitan seaport, the capital of the province of Cilicia. Roman ships sailed up the river to Tarsus and Roman officials and soldiers were to be seen upon its streets. Jewish and Greek merchants vied with those from the West and from the East along the quays and in the market-place. Tarsus enjoyed many privileges, for it was a free city, belonging to that class known in Roman history as the libera. As a result of this condition the people made their own laws and were ruled by their own magistrates. Tarsus was also the seat of one of the three great universities of the East, the others being situated at Athens and Alexandria. Strabo, the ancient Geographer, claimed that Tarsus far outstripped her rivals in the study of philosophy and in general education, and that learned men from her university were in great demand in Rome.

The city on the Cydnus River had a large colony of Jews; but this was no special distinction, as the people of Israel had scattered widely before the close of the last century before Christ, and they were to be found in every important city of the Roman world. Almost two hundred years before Paul the Sibylline writings told of the wide dispersion of the Jews by land and sea. Josephus, the historian, quoted Strabo as saying that it was impossible to find any place in the earth not inhabited and possessed by them. Philo said that Jerusalem might be considered as the capital of the world, for her colonies were to be found everywhere. The latter is also responsible for the statement that in his day there were more than one million Jews in Egypt.

Paul was born of these Jews of the dispersion. Of his family we know little or nothing. He, himself, never refers to them, and there are no references elsewhere. When, as the Apostle of Jesus, he was arrested in the court of the Temple in Jerusalem, he informed his captor, Claudius Lysias, the

Roman captain, that he was free born. That would mean that his father before him had been a Roman citizen. From this fact it has been argued that his family held a place of distinction in his native city, and that the father must have performed some signal service to the Empire. But that does not necessarily follow. History informs us that the Jews in many widely scattered cities were citizens. Josephus says that in Alexandria, which had a large Jewish population, the Jews were not only free citizens, but were ruled by their own ethnarch, like a little republic inside a city. The Jews of Ephesus were likewise free. It has been argued that the Libertines, those freedmen referred to in Acts as having their own synagogue in Jerusalem, were citizens of Rome. It would appear that a great many of Paul's countrymen in the widely scattered cities of the Empire enjoyed the same freedom that he did. Roman citizenship carried with it a great many privileges of which Paul took advantage in later life; the right of trial in Roman courts, exemption from scourging and from crucifixion, and the right of an appeal to Cæsar if the decision of the local court seemed to be unjust. It may be assumed with a fair degree of certainty that the head of the household was a trader, a merchant engaged in commercial enterprises in the city or province or upon the high seas. While it would appear doubtful that he was a wealthy man, he had at least enjoyed sufficient means to send his son to Jerusalem for an education.

To Paul, himself, we are indebted for the information that he was brought up a strict Pharisee. From this we infer that his parents were careful in their observance of the Jewish Law. Like many other Jews of the "Diaspora," they had changed their country but not their creed. In his speech before Agrippa, Paul declared that he had lived after the strictest sect of the Jews. Before the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem he said, "I am a Pharisee of the Pharisees." Jesus used stern words of denunciation when speaking of the Pharisees. He condemned them for using long prayers, for fasting, and for making a pretense of religion to cover many misdeeds. We are not to infer from these words, however, that all the Pharisees were hypocrites. Paul was no hypocrite, and we are led

to believe from the words in which the Apostle refers to the training of his youth, that the father was a faithful son of Abraham and Moses. Paul tells us, further, that he served God from his forefathers. From this we understand that not only his father but his grandfather, and further back still, were Pharisees, serving God in Jerusalem and in the lands whither they had gone. There is no reference at all to the Apostle's mother and only one concerning any other member of the family, a sister who seems to have been living in Jerusalem at the time of Paul's arrest there. From the fact that the sister's son, Paul's nephew, learned of the plot against the Apostle's life, it has been argued that the members of his family residing in Jerusalem were in the councils of his enemies. Whether his parents in Tarsus accepted the gospel of salvation through faith in Christ, or whether they remained aloof from Christianity, we have no information.

In Philippians 3: 5, Paul refers to himself as a Hebrew of the Hebrews. It is uncertain just what he meant by that phrase. Probably he is simply stating that he was sprung from pure Jewish stock. At any rate, we have his own assertion that he was born in Tarsus and was trained according to the strict faith of his ancestors. This would imply that he learned the Scriptures in his home. If he attended the synagogue school, his only text there, also, would be the books of the Old Testament, the history of Israel, the Law and the Prophets. There were other famous schools in Tarsus besides the university, but these were Gentile schools and it is to be doubted that a strict Pharisee would send his boy there. Paul's education in his native city would be confined to the laws and traditions of his own people.

We do not know at what age the young Pharisee went down to Jerusalem to study. In Acts 22, Luke reports the Apostle as saying that he was brought up in Jerusalem. This evidently means that he came to the city while still very young. In Acts 26, Paul is quoted as saying that the manner of his life from his youth up was known to the Jews in Jerusalem. This, also, implies that he came to the city at an early age. From these considerations it would appear most probable that Paul was sent to Jerusalem by his parents when he

became a son of the Law. This age varied according to the maturity of the boy, which in a southern climate would be younger than we of the North are accustomed to assume. After Paul's time the age was arbitrarily set at thirteen years; but in his day it was reckoned from puberty. We assume, therefore, that Paul went to Jerusalem at an age approximating thirteen.

In Jerusalem at this time there were two very famous schools, those of Hillel and Shammai. The former, possibly the more famous, had been founded by the man whose name it bore. After his decease the work was carried on by Simeon, his son. The latter has been identified as that Simeon who, in the Temple, took the little child Jesus in his arms and blessed him. The present teacher was Gamaliel. He was, according to tradition, the son of Simeon and the grandson of Hillel, though this assumption has been disputed. He was accounted a very brilliant scholar, and was said to have been the most influential man in the Jerusalem of his day. Luke presents him as a man of conciliatory temper, opposed to the persecution of the Apostles. Gamaliel argued, sanely enough, that the Christian movement be left alone. If it were not of God it would die a natural death without the shedding of blood. We have every reason to believe that Paul's tutor was not only a brilliant ecclesiastical lawyer but an estimable gentleman. There is a tradition that he later embraced Christianity under the preaching of Peter and John, but it would appear to be unsupported by any historical evidence. He seems to have been reverenced by his students, if the action of one of them, Onkelos by name, was any criterion. This former student of Gamaliel brought to the tomb of his master seventy pounds of incense as a token of his respect and affection for one who was evidently friend as well as teacher.

Paul tells us that he sat at the feet of Gamaliel. This was literally true. The school was held in the court of the Temple. The teacher occupied a high seat and the students sat around on the floor. There would be many scholars, for Gamaliel was a very famous Rabbi. Josephus tells us that such teachers were often surrounded by a multitude. Per-

haps Barnabas, who was to be the companion of Paul in his early missionary enterprises, was a co-learner with him at the feet of the great master. It would seem that Barnabas was well acquainted with Paul. At a later time, when the Apostle had returned to Jerusalem, following his conversion, and when the Fathers were suspicious of him whom they had known only as a violent persecutor, Barnabas had given his word that Paul's conversion had been a genuine change of heart. It may be that Paul had called upon his old schoolmate as soon as he had come to Jerusalem, and had told him of his experience on the road to Damascus.

Gamaliel carried on his work in Greek and Hebrew, and, possibly, in Latin also. Though Paul may have learned Greek in his native city, it was altogether likely that Aramaic was spoken in his father's home. The training in Greek in Gamaliel's school gave the future Apostle a facility in expressing himself both to the Jews and to the Greeks. The Old Testament would be the only text book used. The work of the school was chiefly memorizing. The teacher chose the passage of Scripture set for the day's lesson and then gave his interpretation of it. This process would be repeated many times until the student had committed both the passage and its correct interpretation to memory. This work was occasionally varied by the question and answer method so popular among the Pharisees. Gamaliel encouraged his students to ask questions and to cross question one another. Thus the school of memorizing was turned into a debating society. We should bear in mind that the whole course of study, both for memorizing and debating, was the Scriptures. There was no attempt to study history except the history of the Jews, and that only from a religious point of view. There was nothing of philosophy or of the arts and sciences. The text of Scripture and the correct interpretation of that text were the alpha and omega of a student's curriculum.

In many places in the Epistles of Paul we see evidences of the influence which this rabbinical method had upon him. He was fond of debate and dialogue and repeatedly uses the question and answer method. "What advantage then hath the Jew," he asks, "and what profit is there of circum-

cision?" Having raised the question he proceeds to answer it. Again, he asks, "What shall I say then; shall we continue in sin that grace may abound?" Many such questions, especially from his discussion of the Law in Romans and of the resurrection in first Corinthians, will come to the reader's mind. The typical Pharisaic method paid as much attention to the traditions of the Fathers as to the Law, itself. Indeed, these were given a place of equal authority and importance. There are evidences of this, too, in the letters of Paul. He includes many references which are not to be found in the Old Testament. He gives the names of the magicians who opposed Moses; he speaks of the Law as having been mediated by angels; he refers to a rock which followed the children of Israel through the desert and calls that rock Christ. As we shall see later on, Paul was so grounded in the Jewish Law that although, because of the pressure of circumstances, he was forced to modify some of his conceptions, he never departed from the faith of his Fathers and his death may be directly traced to the fact that he remained a loyal Jew.

We do not know how long Paul remained at the feet of Gamaliel. The full course of training for the office of a scribe covered a period, in some cases, of twelve years. Whether he took the full course or not is indefinite. There were three degrees granted by the schools in Jerusalem. The first, or lowest degree, was that of Rab; the intermediate was that of Rabbi. This second degree would presuppose the full course of instruction, looking to the position of teacher. There was a further degree which seems to have been limited to seven individuals who had not only attained to advanced age but to great learning. Of these Gamaliel was one. It was a degree given, apparently, for "honoris causa" and was called Rabbah or Rabban. It would seem most reasonable to conclude that Paul remained in Jerusalem for a period of from ten to twelve years. He then returned to his native city of Tarsus. At this time he would be a young man from twenty-two to twenty-five years of age. How long he remained in Tarsus, or in what manner he employed himself, we have no information. This period of the future Apostle's life is a complete blank.

These years of silence as far as the life of Paul is concerned, were the most momentous in the whole history of the world. It was during this time that Jesus left His home and His carpenter's bench in Nazareth, was baptized of John in the Jordan, spent His days of reflection and temptation in the wilderness and went about Galilee and Judæa, gathering to Himself a little company of followers, teaching, healing and doing wondrous miracles. The Jews put Him to death in Jerusalem and He was buried in the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea. But death could not hold Him in the grave. He came forth from the tomb and appeared unto His disciples, not once but many times. Then He left them and ascended into heaven. His disciples organized themselves into an "Ecclesia" and, after receiving the gift of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, they threw themselves zealously into the work of propagating their faith in Jesus as the Messiah. New converts came to swell the numbers of the church in Jerusalem. Among these was Stephen, a Hellenist Jew, a Jew of the dispersion. He believed in Jesus as the Christ of God, but he did not hold to the Law with the same reverence that filled the souls of the older Apostles. He had new and radical ideas of the meaning of the kingdom of God and for these opinions he was called upon to suffer death as the first martyr of the Church. In the persecution and death of the martyr Stephen, Paul played an important part. He had returned to the city of Jerusalem soon after the death of Jesus and, recognizing that the new Christian movement held a grave peril for the Law, he threw himself into the work of destroying it.

II

THE DEATH OF STEPHEN

"And the witnesses laid down their garments at the feet of a young man named Saul."

WHEN Paul returned to Jerusalem he found that the followers of Jesus had become entrenched there. These, while not great in numbers, were composed of Jews resident in the city, who had accepted Jesus as Messiah; others, like the Apostles and their friends, had come up from Galilee; still others were of the Jews of the dispersion, men who had come back to the city of their Fathers after a sojourn in foreign parts. The resident Jews, both Christians and non-Christians, worshipped in the Temple. This was true, also, of those who had come up from Galilee; but the Jews of the dispersion attended various synagogues which had sprung up in the city. In the days of which we write the number of these synagogues in Jerusalem probably reached five hundred. The population was large and was composed of diverse elements—"Jews from every nation under heaven." Groups of people from the same native locality, or groups with common interests, gravitated to the same synagogue just as people of to-day find their church home in large centres of population. Luke mentions several of these Jerusalem synagogues. In the seventh chapter of Acts he writes:

"But there arose certain of them that were of the synagogue of the Libertines and of the Cyrenians and of the Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia and of Asia, disputing with Stephen."

Whether or not Paul had anything to do with these disputations we have no record; but knowing the temper of his

mind, and his zeal for God, and, considering that the incident shows him to have been a leader in the events that culminated in Stephen's death, it does not place too great a strain upon the imagination to picture Paul as disputing with Stephen. If that be so, then not even the zeal of a Paul was able to overcome the earnestness of a Stephen; for Luke says, "And they were not able to withstand the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake."

It seems quite clear that Stephen was causing a great deal of uneasiness by his fearless and outspoken preaching. His ideas, also, were too radical to suit the ecclesiastical Fathers in Jerusalem. Something must be done if the customs of the Fathers, venerated by the whole institution of Judaism, were to retain their place in the affections of the people. Stephen was preaching a doctrine that could not be tolerated, and he was far too courageous and outspoken.

Having done the best they could by fair means to silence this fearless preacher of new ideas, there remained the possibility of accusing him, falsely or otherwise, of blaspheming against God and against the customs of Moses. In his book, "Paul the Apostle," John W. Ligon suggests that spies were sent out to write down the words of Stephen. His enemies may well have adopted this method. It would not have been the first time that the Jews in Jerusalem and elsewhere had stooped to this procedure. It is recorded in the Gospels that on several occasions the Pharisees sent out emissaries to take special note of the words of Jesus. Sometimes they were more successful than they had even dared to hope. On one occasion the Master was preaching in the home of Peter in Capernaum by the sea. There was carried to the house in which He spoke a poor paralytic. So great was the crowd around Jesus that the friends of the cripple were forced to let him into the Sacred Presence by means of a couch let down through the roof. Jesus astonished the spies by forgiving the man's sins. This was more than they had come to hear. Stephen, too, was surrounded by spies.

When the evidence of what the Jews termed blasphemy had been received, or when false witnesses had been found, who, for a consideration, were willing to testify against him,

Stephen was brought before the Sanhedrin with the hope that a legal murder might dispose of him forever.

In the trial of Stephen as in that of Jesus, it is difficult to find out just what the accusation was. In Acts, chapter six, Luke refers to a twofold charge. He writes, "And they suborned men who said, We have heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses and against God." This charge was general enough to suit the needs even of a Jewish Sanhedrin. We read further, "And set up false witnesses, who said, This man ceaseth not to speak words against the Holy Place, and the Law; for we heard him say that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place and shall change the customs which Moses delivered unto us." Here was blasphemy with a vengeance.

It was a case of the disciple having to suffer for his Lord. It would appear that Stephen had quoted the words spoken by Jesus at the cleansing of the Temple. On the day following this dramatic act of the Master, messengers came to Him from the Sanhedrin and demanded to know on what authority He had done this thing. Jesus said, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will build another temple made without hands." These words, the Gospel makes plain, were used with no reference at all to the Temple in Jerusalem. They contained a prophecy of His resurrection from the dead.

It is impossible to imagine that a man with the spiritual insight of Stephen had used these words literally, to the effect that Jesus would destroy the Temple in Jerusalem. In all probability he had quoted them in a sermon on the resurrection, showing, perhaps, that Jesus had foretold His death and resurrection from the dead. If this be true, the words had been as little understood by the enemies of Stephen as they had been by the Sanhedrin of Jesus' day. Jonathan, the High Priest at the trial of Stephen, was as horrified as Caiaphas had appeared to be at that of Jesus.

All this, of course, was mere pretense. The heart of the accusation lies in the words, "that this Jesus of Nazareth . . . shall change the customs which Moses delivered unto us." Even Jesus' enemies were aware of the implication of His teaching. The Gospel He proclaimed sounded the death

knell of Judaism, as the Pharisees well knew. Stephen was the first of the Master's followers to grasp this great fact. Here Paul came later to take his stand when he saw that it was not a question of Judaism and Christianity, but of Judaism or Christianity. Here was the beginning of the missionary zeal of the Church when Paul preached, "to the Jew first, but also to the Greek." The first note of that clarion call of "the whole world for Christ," was sounded, not by Paul, but by Stephen.

Meanwhile the trial went on. It has been said with perfect truth that the trial of the Master was nothing but a farce; the same may be said with equal truth of that of His disciple. Indeed the similarity of events is very striking. The members of the Sanhedrin, themselves, must have been aware of this fact. Many of those who sat facing the accused Stephen were present when Jesus had been tried. The intervening time had been short; the accusations in each case were so similar that they must have caused comment. The real charge against Jesus, also, was that He was changing the customs of Moses.

In Mark 14 we read:

"Now the chief priests and the council sought witness against Jesus to put him to death; and found it not . . . and there stood up certain, and bare false witness against him, saying, We heard him say, I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another made without hands . . . and the high priest stood up in the midst and asked Jesus, saying, Answerest thou nothing?"

In the case of Stephen, witnesses were "suborned." These testified that Stephen had said, not only that Jesus would destroy the Temple, but that He would change the customs of Moses. Caiaphas expected Jesus forthwith to condemn Himself. Jonathan did the same thing with regard to Stephen. Jesus was silent before His accusers, at least in so far as the accusations were concerned. He only answered when asked a direct question with regard to His Messianic claims. Turning to Jesus with all the weight of his author-

ity heavy upon him, the High Priest asked, "Art thou the Christ?" Jesus replied, "I am: and ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power and coming with the clouds of heaven." Jesus thus condemned Himself in the eyes of the Sanhedrin and was immediately sentenced to death.

This sentence of death, however, could not be carried out by the Jews. The Romans kept the power of life and death in their own hands. Considerable freedom was delegated to the Sanhedrin in matters religious and even in civil affairs; but a sentence of death must be passed upon by the Roman Governor. Hence an appeal to Cæsar was necessary. It mattered not that the charge was now changed to one of treason against the Roman. This overanxiety for the welfare of Cæsar did not deceive the Governor. He knew as well as they did that the charge was absurd. Jesus had no military following.

Sometimes the Governor would sanction the procedure of the Jewish Court without the formality of a trial, or of even reviewing the evidence. The Jews fervently hoped that it would be so in this case; but Pilate was not in a yielding mood as yet. He knew that eventually he would give way to these religious fanatics, as he had done before this time; but he would make a show of authority, at least. He insisted on his right to question the prisoner. The Jews forced his hand, at length, and Jesus was handed over to be legally put to death.

Stephen, on the contrary, attempted a speech in his own defense. Some scholars are of the opinion that this speech is entirely misplaced and has no bearing on the trial; that otherwise we must admit that Stephen simply went out of his way to seal his own doom. Faced with this dilemma, either that Stephen delivered a speech which had absolutely no bearing upon his trial, or that, in a delicate situation he deliberately made a savage attack upon those who held his life in the hollow of their hands, the theory has been advanced that Luke has inserted here, as the martyr's speech in his own defense, that which was in reality a sermon preached elsewhere. This might possibly be true; but we might as

easily presume that Luke obtained his information from Paul who was present in person and heard what Stephen said. Arguing from the point of logic after the event is one thing; defending oneself before a body of religious fanatics is quite another. It is true that there are difficulties in the speech. It is not easy to see why Stephen included the closing words; but we should remember that it is impossible to know just what direction his argument might have taken, for Stephen evidently changed his mind in the middle of his discourse. As to the reason for this change, one man's explanation is as good as another's.

He began with an historical account of the coming of Abraham from Mesopotamia to the land of Canaan. He told of God's promise that the land would be given to Abraham's seed. He spoke of the covenant of circumcision. The story of Joseph and of the migration of the children of Israel from the land of Egypt were touched upon. With great enthusiasm he proceeded to discuss the career of Moses. Moses was a great prophet; but a greater than Moses was to come. The Jews had rejected the Lawgiver and had longed for the fleshpots of Egypt; but Moses had set his face toward the promised land. This brought him to the mention of the tabernacle in the wilderness and the Temple which was to come. It does not seem difficult to believe that Stephen was directing the thought of his audience to the Temple. He was leading them up to that which was central, for he was accused of blaspheming the Temple. He neither affirmed nor denied his guilt; but declared that God does not dwell in temples made with hands.

At this point in his speech Stephen's mind was turned in another direction. Perhaps as he looked into the hard faces of his accusers, he saw the hopelessness of it all. Perhaps the truth of the Master's dictum that "There are none so blind as those who will not see," came home to him. Considering what he might have said in his own defense is merely idle speculation. It is idle, too, to speculate on what turned him into an attack on his hearers. "Ye stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears," he said, "ye do always resist the holy spirit: as your fathers did, so do ye. Which of the

prophets did not your fathers persecute? And they killed them that showed before of the coming of the Righteous One; of whom ye have now become betrayers and murderers." What splendid courage! But it sealed his doom. They dragged him out and stoned him to death.

"And Saul was consenting unto his death." Here was the beginning of the conversion of Paul. To see a man face death bravely is not an astonishing thing. Paul, himself, would have done that. Many men have faced death with a smile. But to see a man face death with a prayer upon his lips that God would forgive his murderers is an experience that could not be forgotten. The similarity of the words of Stephen, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge," to those of the Master, "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do," was so striking as to interest Paul who must have known the facts of Jesus' death. In the excitement of the moment the inference would not be clear; but the scene would not pass from Paul's mind.

Thus the conversion of Paul had its antecedent in the death of Stephen. If one could see into the mind of Paul, he would probably find that the preaching of Stephen, that devoted disciple of the Master, had its effect upon this very zealous persecutor even before Paul, himself, was aware of that fact. Stephen was the first martyr of the Church. For that fact he is lovingly remembered by the whole body of Christ. He was the first of a long line of courageous men and women who were not "afraid of them that kill the body and after that have no more that they can do."

That alone is no small claim to honour; but Stephen has a far greater hold upon the memory and the affection of the Church. He was the spiritual forerunner of one in whom the life and love of the Master were to abound; one who was to carry the banner of Jesus to far distant places and to establish the Church in Asia and in Europe; one who was to gather into the Church peoples whom the Jews never expected to find in the kingdom of God, except as they might enter through the doors of Judaism. Is it not a fair inference that the magnificent heroism of Stephen had its psychological effect upon the young man Saul who was consenting unto

Stephen's death? The wonderful courage of the disciple amazed this fiery persecutor and made him think that there was more in the Christian faith than he had been willing to admit.

It seems equally certain that Saul, when later as Paul, the Apostle, he stood face to face with the problems of the mission field and the preaching of the Evangel, took refuge in the very principle which Stephen had proclaimed years before and for which he had given his life. This principle—that the religion of Jesus was not for the Jews only, but also for the whole world—became the very heart of the message of Paul. He suffered much in later years at the hands of those people who had stoned Stephen to death, and for the very same reason.

In the eleventh chapter of his second letter to the Corinthians, Paul gives a list of the horrors he was called upon to endure because he dared to preach what Stephen had taught. He says, "Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep, in journeyings often, in perils of rivers, in perils of robbers, in perils from mine own countrymen, in perils from the Gentiles, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren, in labour and travail, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness." What a catalogue of sufferings! Stephen stoned to death; Paul persecuted. Who will say that there is no connection between the stoning of Stephen and the sufferings of Paul?

This man, Stephen, the quality of whose mind and heart Paul knew, was unquestionably sincere in his belief that Jesus was the Christ of God. Not only was he sincere; it was quite evident that his life had been hid with Christ in God. He had found that which Paul, with all his zeal for God, had not been able to find. Was it possible that he, Paul, had been mistaken? He was being prepared for that vision which was to come.

III

THE CONVERSION OF PAUL

"I saw a light from heaven."

THE first result of the stoning of Stephen was the persecution of the Church, or, at least, a certain section of it. Strangely enough, this persecution was not aimed at the leaders but at the rank and file. The sheep were scattered abroad but the shepherds were left in the city of Jerusalem unmolested. The reason is not difficult to discover. The Apostles were men of firm adherence to the Law, to the customs of Moses and to the traditions of the Fathers. Peter, who first held the place of preëminence, was a devout Jew; so were the other Apostles. They were Jews first and Christians afterwards. The authorities in Jerusalem felt that they had nothing to fear from these men. The main body of this new Christian sect was sound in the faith of the Fathers.

At the same time, there had grown up a strong group of Christians who were liberal in their tendencies. These were interested first of all in the Gospel and after that in the Jewish Law. In the main, their traditions were Greek rather than Jewish. The Law did not hold them as it held the rest of the Jewish people. If it came to a choice there was no doubt as to what that choice would be. Their loyalty was first of all to Christ.

The natural leader of this group was Stephen who had boldly proclaimed the equality of the Gentiles in the eyes of God. He believed that Jesus had come to open the doors of the kingdom and to break down the wall of Jewish narrowness. He was willing to change the customs of Moses. The section of the Church which adhered to Stephen, with his new ideas, was inspired by his heroic leadership. He died for the faith that was in him and his followers were perse-

cuted. The authorities in Jerusalem were not satisfied until the last of them had been hunted down.

Even before this time there had been a flutter of excitement in Jerusalem. Peter and John had visited the Temple and at the very gate had performed a miracle. Peter had followed this miracle with a sermon to the amazed onlookers. He accused the people of having crucified Jesus; but declared that God had raised Him from the dead as a sign of His Divinity. At this stage of the proceedings the captain of the Temple arrived and took Peter and John into custody. They were held for trial upon the morrow. When the morrow came, the two Apostles were brought before Annas, Caiaphas, John, Alexander and the whole priestly craft. With great boldness Peter and John declared that they had cured the impotent man in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, whom the Sanhedrin had murdered. The wonder is that Peter and John did not meet a like fate with Jesus and Stephen. The reason that they did not is to be found in the fact that the Jewish Council knew there was no charge against these men. There was a limit beyond which persecution could not go. These men were held in high regard as good and loyal Jews. There was no taint of heresy attached to their names. They were, therefore, released with a reprimand.

The Apostles were safe for the time being; their reputations were beyond reproach. The followers of Stephen, on the other hand, were soon made to feel the weight of the Sanhedrin's displeasure. In the persecution which followed, the " young man Saul " became the leading figure. We have seen that Paul had returned to Jerusalem after a sojourn in his native city. It is to be doubted that he was in the city during the ministry of Jesus. The later opposition of the mother church toward the former persecutor, the whole matter of the sufferings he endured at the hands of their emissaries and friends, turned upon the question of Paul's never having seen the Master in the flesh. The logical inference is that he never did. In his bitter controversy with the Jews he admitted that he came late into the fold of Christ; he admitted, also, that he persecuted the Church. In a very humble mood he refers to himself as the least of all the

Apostles, saying that he is not fit to be called an Apostle for he persecuted the Church of Christ. It seems most reasonable to suppose that if Paul had had any personal knowledge of Jesus, if he had ever seen the Master in the flesh, he would plainly have said so.

At any rate, Paul must have returned to Jerusalem soon after the Resurrection. It was, perhaps, only a year after Jesus had been crucified and had amazed and thrilled His followers by resuming His " body of death " that this zealous student of the Law returned to the city where he had studied at the feet of Gamaliel. Certainly not more than five or six years could have intervened. We find him occupying a prominent place at the death of Stephen. Speaking before King Agrippa, Paul declares that he gave his vote against the Christians. This seems to imply that he was a member of the Sanhedrin. He may have taken a prominent part in the disputations with Stephen, as we have already suggested. When these failed he identified himself with more practical means for disposing of this heretical and dangerous sect.

Under the reign of terror which followed and which was carried on under the direction of Paul, the followers of Stephen were scattered. When the last of those captured in Jerusalem had been dealt with by the Sanhedrin, Paul was granted permission to visit Damascus where, it was rumoured, certain members of Stephen's band had taken refuge. It was his expressed determination to bring these heretics back to Jerusalem for trial. Thus we find him upon the Damascus road.

It will be recalled that on one occasion Jesus was instructing His disciples as to what they might expect from the enemies of the faith. He knew the fanaticism of the Pharisees. In John 16:2, we find this prophecy recorded, " They shall put you out of the synagogues; yea, the time cometh that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service." It was in this attitude of mind that Paul started out upon his memorable journey. He had with him letters of introduction to the religious leaders of Damascus, showing his authority from the Sanhedrin to imprison, and later to

bring back to Jerusalem for trial, all those who would change the customs of Moses.

There can be no question of Paul's sincerity. He tells us that he was "zealous toward God." He was a Pharisee of the Pharisees by heredity and training. As such he longed for the advent of the Messiah; but Paul had his own ideas concerning the nature and work of the coming King. In the main his views were those prevailing in his day and age. The Messiah was to be the Christ of prophecy and He would come in God's good pleasure. He would come in the glory of God and He would redeem Israel. That redemption would be a physical as well as a spiritual redemption. The Messiah would bring in the kingdom of God; but in the process He would drive out the Roman and bring back the ancient glory of David and Solomon. The kingdom was to be a politico-religious kingdom and Jerusalem would be the capital of the world.

Such was the conception in the mind of the Pharisee of Paul's day; and there is no reason to suppose that Paul's ideas were materially different from those of his own time. Paul's conception of the kingdom might be more spiritual than that held by the average Pharisee; but it would be essentially the same. One can easily understand how bitter would be his animosity toward those who taught that Jesus of Nazareth was the long promised and long hoped for Messianic King. Where was His glory? So far from overcoming the Roman, He had been put to death by the Roman. And the death of the cross! God's Son would not die the death of a malefactor. Paul knew whereof he spoke when he called the cross a stumbling block. It had been such to him. In his book, "The Religious Experience of St. Paul," Dr. Gardner sums up the matter thus: "The Law and a crucified Saviour could not exist together. The result of their juxtaposition in the mind of Paul was at first a passionate hostility to the Christian name, and a determination to extirpate it."

This zeal of Paul brought him no peace of mind. He was trying earnestly to still the voices within him by plunging headlong into persecution, but his plan was not succeeding.

In his speech before King Agrippa he tells us that the voice he heard on the Damascus road said to him, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks." That means, it would seem clear, that on the road to Damascus, and even before that time, Paul was not able to quiet the questioning within him.

The distance from Damascus to Jerusalem was approximately one hundred and forty miles. It was a journey of several days in that age, and Paul had ample time for reflection. These Christians had more than heroism for a cause, he reasoned; they had that quiet, peaceful faith that he had not been able to find. Was it possible that they were right and he was wrong? There were forces at work within Paul's mind that were preparing him for his great experience along the road. May we quote Dr. Gardner again?

"But in any case [he says], it seems in the highest degree probable that it was the triumphant death of the martyr which shook the self-confidence of the 'young man Saul' and infused into him a doubt whether, after all, the adherents of the new heresy might not live on a higher plane of life than that of the Pharisees, and be nearer to the purposes of God in relation to the Jewish race. If the reaction of the will against this doubt drove Paul more fiercely into the path of persecution, that would be quite in accordance with historic analogy. The first result of the introduction of doubt into an intensely religious mind is often a revulsion into fanaticism. And the fanaticism leads further and further until it ends in a sudden bankruptcy. This is the moment when a new principle of faith may find a room empty and garnished."

The story of what transpired on the road to Damascus is told in three places in the book of Acts. The first of these three accounts is found in Acts 9: 3–6. Here it is recorded that a great light shone round about Paul; that he heard a voice speaking to him. The voice was the voice of Jesus and Paul was commanded to enter the city of Damascus to receive further instructions as to what he was to do.

"And as he journeyed he came near to Damascus; and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven;

and he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest; it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks."

The second account is narrated in Acts, chapter 22. Here, also, Paul saw a light and heard a voice. In the earlier account nothing is said about Paul's companions. This passage informs us that they, too, saw the light but did not hear the voice. As in the first narrative Paul was commanded to journey to the city to receive instructions. The further detail is added that Paul was blinded by the light and had to be led into Damascus by the hands of his companions. Paul says:

"And it came to pass, that, as I made my journey and was come nigh unto Damascus about noon, suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round about me. And I fell unto the ground, and heard a voice saying unto me, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And I answered, Who art thou, Lord? And he said unto me, I am Jesus of Nazareth whom thou persecutest. And they that were with me saw indeed the light, and were afraid; but they heard not the voice of him that spoke to me. And I said, What shall I do, Lord? And the Lord said unto me, Arise, and go into Damascus; and there it shall be told thee of all things which are appointed for thee to do. And when I could not see for the glory of that light, being led by the hand of them that were with me, I came into Damascus."

We find the third account in Acts 26, verses 12 and following. Here Paul is narrating his experience to Agrippa. There was a great light; Paul and his companions all fell to the ground; the voice spoke to him. The arresting words of the voice are almost identical in all three accounts, except that in the second story the revealing phrase, "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks," is missing. In this account there is included a very interesting record of a commission given to Paul not in Damascus but here by the side of the road.

"Whereupon as I went to Damascus with authority and

commission from the chief priests, at midday, O king, I saw in the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and them which journeyed with me. And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice speaking unto me and saying in the Hebrew tongue, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And I said, Who art thou, Lord? And he said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. But rise and stand upon thy feet; for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in which I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the people and from the Gentiles unto whom now I send thee."

It must be frankly conceded that there are differences in the narratives; and, perhaps, difficulties. But when that much is said it is hardly necessary for us to magnify those differences or difficulties until we become blinded to the fact that in essential detail they are substantially the same. The spotlight of investigation has played upon these accounts of Paul's conversion until the mole hills have been magnified into mountains. We have been told, for instance, that Luke, himself, with his fondness for dramatic effect, has magnified the details and worked up the narrative with a view to improving its dramatic power. Again, we have been reminded that Paul was a man of highly nervous organism, speaking with tongues and seeing visions; that his experience here was entirely subjective and has its antecedent wholly in the scenes through which he has just passed.

Dr. Gardner, in the book to which we have already referred, says, "It is a great misfortune in our regard to our conception of St. Paul, that the account of that conversion in Acts has been taken as sober history." There are others, again, who tell us that Paul lived with his head in the clouds. If that be so, it may explain the reason why he is the greatest man of human history for he certainly had his feet firmly planted upon the solid ground. Paul was no mere dreamer, living in the realm of the subconscious. He was the most practical missionary that the world has ever seen. When we judge all Christian preachers by results achieved, Paul stands

alone. He evidently built up his work upon the theory that his conversion was sober history.

That there are differences in the chronicles of Paul's spiritual metamorphosis is not a thing to cause wonder. The striking fact about them is that they are in essential conformity. They all agree that Paul saw a great light above the brightness of the sun; they are in conformity, also, in announcing that he heard a voice and that that voice emanated from Jesus of Nazareth. Whether Paul alone fell to the ground, or whether the whole company grovelled in the sand, does not alter the fact that Paul was conscious of an experience that changed his life profoundly.

We might lose ourselves, likewise, in an argument as to whether the narratives of the resurrection are sober history. If you examine closely the various accounts of the first Easter morning, you will find differences and difficulties, too. You will come away from that study wondering whether there were two guards or only one at the tomb of the Master. It may be difficult to determine just how many angels were present. There will be other details not any too clear in your mind. But you will know beyond any shadow of a doubt that Jesus was raised from the dead. All the accounts are in agreement upon that fact. The disciples saw Him; talked with Him; were inspired by Him. It is no taunt but sober history to say that the Church rests upon the foundations of an empty tomb. Men do not die for a vision that exists only in the subconscious mind. The very same thing is true of the conversion of Paul. You may not know just how many hid their faces from the light; but you do know that Paul saw the light of the glory of Jesus of Nazareth; that he heard the voice of the Master and believed with an abiding faith.

Indeed, the strength of his conviction is the explanation of all his life and work that followed after. Here was the driving force that compelled him to burn himself out for Christ. Paul, himself, gives us the secret of his power in Galatians 1: 15, where he says, " when it was the good pleasure of God to reveal his Son in me." There we find the meaning of conversion to Paul, and, also, the heart of his experience. This

matter will be referred to from time to time. Suffice it to say here that a Divine power had laid hold upon him and changed the whole current of his life. Jesus was the Messiah, Paul had seen His glory and had heard His voice. Henceforth it is to be the living experience of the one time persecutor that the voice of Jesus is the voice of God.

IV

CALLED TO BE AN APOSTLE

"Paul, called to be an Apostle of Jesus Christ, through the will of God."

IT is difficult to explain what constitutes a call to the ministry. If one were to send out a questionnaire on the subject to one thousand ministers engaged in the active work of the ministry, the answers received would probably show a great variety of expression and suggestion. Perhaps no two would be quite the same. At the same time, the replies in almost every case would include in some form the idea of inner compunction to preach in the name of Christ. "Woe is me, if I preach not the Gospel." The belief still persists that, while a genuine call to the ministry may include many things, there must be present this urge from within. This constitutes the essential dynamic of the call. Paul felt this urge more than most.

His name has always been associated with the preaching of the Word to the Gentiles. Indeed, in his own Epistles, as well as in Acts, Paul is constantly spoken of as the Apostle to the Gentiles. When did this work lay hold upon him? Was it immediately following his conversion that he felt himself called to a particular field of service; or did the consciousness of his special fitness for the task gradually come to him as he surveyed the field? We turn now to a discussion of these questions.

In the preceding chapter we have referred to the three accounts of the conversion of Paul. In each of these special mention is made of his call to preach. In the first narrative Luke presents a summary of the Apostle's life from the time of his conversion until we find him back in his native city of Tarsus. Nothing is said of a call to a special field; at least no reference is made to the fact that God called Paul

to such work, or that Paul felt himself so called. We are informed that the Lord privately communicated to Ananias in Damascus, the fact that Paul had been specially selected to carry the Gospel to the Gentiles. This was done to convince Ananias that he should not hesitate to visit Paul; but the choice of field was not communicated to the latter. Evidently the reputation of the persecutor had preceded him, and Ananias would naturally be very doubtful that the heralded conversion of this zealous Pharisee was genuine. Luke contents himself with the simple narration of the fact that Paul, blinded from the brightness of the light that shone round about him, proceeded to Damascus, led by the hands of his companions. There he was cured of his disability by Ananias, through whom, also, he received the gift of the Holy Spirit. Immediately Paul began preaching in Damascus that Jesus was the Christ of God. The Jews, who evidently considered him a traitor and on that account bestowed on him a double hatred, raised an uproar in the city and attempted to take his life. Paul was forced to flee in the dead of night. From Damascus he returned to Jerusalem but found neither welcome nor protection there. He was, however, aided by the Christians of Jerusalem to escape to his home in Tarsus

With the above account chapter 22 is in agreement until we come to that part of the story where Paul received his sight. Here it is asserted that Ananias, under commission from God, informed Paul of his selection for work among all men. Luke tells the story but the words are those of Paul:

"And one Ananias, a devout man according to the law, having a good report of all the Jews which dwelt there, came unto me, and stood, and said unto me, Brother Saul, receive thy sight. And the same hour I looked up upon him. And he said, The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that Just One, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth. For thou shalt be his witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard."

Thus Paul's call, according to Luke, was a sort of roving commission.

Having intimated that he was baptized in Damascus following his conversion and the restoration of his sight, Paul declares that he proceeded to Jerusalem to the Temple. While in this holy place, in a trance, he was commanded to depart to the Gentiles.

"And it was come to pass, that, when I was come to Jerusalem [he says], even while I prayed in the temple, I was in a trance, and saw him saying unto me, Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem; for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me. And I said, Lord, they know that I imprisoned and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee; and when the blood of the martyr, Stephen, was shed, I, also, was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him. And he said unto me, Depart; for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles."

Chapter 26 has an account that is still different. Here the Apostle receives his commandment to preach and his commission to go to the Gentiles directly from Jesus, and at the same time. According to this version Paul received his great marching orders by the side of the Damascus road. Luke reports the matter thus:

"But rise, and stand upon thy feet: for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the people and from the Gentiles unto whom now I send thee."

Thus we find that the three accounts, as far as the Apostle's call to the ministry and his designation to a special field of work are concerned, are all different. In the first narrative, Ananias was informed privately that Paul was "a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel." Paul was not so informed but immediately began to preach in Damascus. In the second account, Ananias informed Paul that he was

chosen to preach to all men. Later, when the young Apostle had returned to the Temple in Jerusalem, he was commissioned by Jesus to go to the Gentiles. In chapter 26, Paul is ordained as a minister and commanded to go to the Gentiles while he stood by the side of the road.

The matter is further complicated by Paul's own statement that he remained in Arabia for a considerable period following his conversion. The account in Acts 22 seems to imply, though it does not explicitly state, that Paul returned almost at once to Jerusalem. The Apostle, himself, informs us that he spent at least three years in Arabia and Damascus. In this connection, also, he stresses his call to serve the Gentiles. In Galatians 1: 15–17, he says:

" But when it was the good pleasure of God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me through his grace, to reveal his son in me that I might preach him among the Gentiles; straightway I conferred not with flesh and blood, neither went I up to Jerusalem to them that were apostles before me; but I went away into Arabia; and again I returned unto Damascus. Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem."

It will be noticed that Paul does not say that God commanded him to go to the Gentiles. He simply states that in the providence of God he had been saved that he might go to the Gentiles. When he uttered those words he was looking back in retrospect upon his whole strenuous life. He could see clearly that God had been leading him in the choice which he had made; but he does not say that God had plainly and definitely commanded him to make that choice. In other words, he is arguing after the event and, as with us, Paul's hindsight was clearer than his foresight.

It will be clear, also, that the Apostle does not inform us as to the length of time he spent in Arabia. We cannot be sure from his words whether his stay in the wilderness beyond Damascus was very brief, and, after returning again to Damascus he spent approximately three years there in preaching, or whether he means to infer that he spent the major portion of the time in Arabia and returned to Jeru-

salem by way of Damascus, preaching for a time to the Jews in the latter city.

There are other evidences in the New Testament that Paul did not confine himself to the Gentiles. It seems indisputable, by reason of evidence that is overwhelming, that for some considerable time he preached to his own countrymen. In Acts 13: 46, it is recorded that Paul and Barnabas laboured first among the Jews. When the chosen people would not give heed to the Gospel they turned to the Gentiles. In explanation, and in justification of their actions, they addressed the Jews as follows, " It was necessary that the Word of God should first be spoken to you; seeing ye thrust it from you and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles." That is to say that the onus for the change of procedure was placed directly on the shoulders of their own people. Paul and Barnabas turned to the Gentiles because the Jews would have none of them and of their Gospel.

It would seem that we come closest to the truth when we assume that Paul, immediately following his conversion, turned to the solitudes beyond Damascus. Here he faced the problem of the future. It would take some time for the adjustment of his ideas. Even so great a man as he undoubtedly was, with mind so keen and clear, could not turn from " breathing threatenings and slaughter " to the preaching of the Gospel, without some time for meditation and for the rearrangement of his ideas. A mental revolution was necessary to pass from the position of a persecutor of the faithful to that of a defender of the faith. Not that there was any doubt in Paul's mind as to where he stood; but his ideas would be sadly in need of a complete reorganization. Jesus had faced His problem with a period of forty days fasting in the wilderness; Paul spent three years, or a large part of them, in Arabia.

It does not seem reasonable to imagine that this time was spent in idle meditation; but no record of his work has come down to us. In his " Epistle to the Galatians," Bishop Lightfoot thus refers to the lack of historic evidence concerning Paul's stay in the wilderness:

"A veil of thick darkness hangs over Paul's visit to Arabia. Of the scenes among which he moved, of the thoughts and occupations which engaged him while there, of all the circumstances of a crisis which must have shaped the whole tenor of his after life, absolutely nothing is known. . . . It is a mysterious pause, a moment of suspense in the Apostle's history, a breathless calm which ushers in the tumultuous storm of his active missionary life."

But we can hardly think of a breathless calm in connection with the Apostle Paul, and especially following his conversion, when the spirit of passionate longing to be active for the Master must have been consuming him. Various writers have thrown out the suggestion that he visited the regions of Mount Sinai. This supposition is by no means unreasonable, for Mount Sinai was a very sacred spot to the Jews. Paul knew his Old Testament well. He would be familiar with the fact that here Moses saw the burning bush; here, also, the mountain had burned beneath the feet of God; here, too, Moses had received the Ten Commandments. It was in this sacred region that Elijah, a fugitive from the wrath of Jezebel, had come close to God and had found his soul nourished and his spiritual strength and zeal restored. Here, too, we are reminded, one who was to become greater than Elijah found peace in God and, in meditation, in prayer and in communion with Christ, he planned his future work.

Lightfoot, in the volume referred to above, has a beautiful passage on this theory of Paul's visit to Mount Sinai. He says:

"For if we suppose that the Apostle at this critical moment betook himself to the Sinaitic Peninsula, the scene of the giving of the Law, then his visit to Arabia becomes full of meaning. He was attracted thither by a spirit akin to that which formerly had driven Elijah to the same region. Standing on the threshold of the new covenant, he was anxious to look upon the birthplace of the old; that dwelling for a while in seclusion in the presence of the 'mount that burned with fire,' he might ponder over the transient glories of the 'ministration of death,' and apprehend its real purpose in relation to the more glorious covenant which was now to supplant it.

Here, surrounded by the children of the desert, the descendents of Hagar, the bondwoman, he read the true meaning and power of the law. In the rugged and barren region whence it issued, he saw a fit type of that bleak desolation which it created and was intended to create in the soul of man. In the midst of such scenes and associations his spirit was attuned to harmony with his divine mission, and fitted to receive fresh visions and revelations of the Lord. Thus in the wilderness of Sinai, as on the Mount of Transfiguration, the three dispensations met in one. Here Moses had received the tables of the law, amid fire and tempest and thick darkness. Here again Elijah, the typical prophet, listened to the voice of God and sped forth refreshed on his mission of righteousness. And here, lastly, in the fullness of time, St. Paul the greatest preacher of Him of whom both the law and the prophets spoke, was strengthened and sanctified for his great work, was taught the breadth, as well as the depth, of the riches of God's wisdom, and transferred from the champion of a bigoted and narrow tradition into the large-hearted Apostle of the Gentiles."

This was, without doubt, Paul's testing time. These were his seminary days. An eloquent Scot's preacher pictures Elijah as the president of a theological seminary, taking a ramble through the woods with his students. Paul, also, attended seminary in the desert regions of Arabia. He completed the full three year course, if we include the practical work of mission preaching in which he engaged in Damascus and, perhaps in Arabia, as well. So far as we know he was the only student. The curriculum consisted entirely of the Law and the Prophets. His only teacher was the spirit of the Master; for he is careful to inform us that he conferred not with flesh and blood. That does not mean that he lived in idle meditation. It is quite possible that he conducted a mission in Arabia. How strange it is that no mention of his work has come down to us!

Neither in Arabia nor in Damascus is there any hint of his turning to the Gentiles. His main consideration while there, apparently, was to clarify his thinking and to discern the meaning of the cross. It would appear, not only from the ultimatum of Paul and Barnabas quoted above, but also

from other historical evidence of Paul's life, that it was only after repeated failures among his own people, only after he had learned from bitter experience that the Jews would not accept Christ to rule over them, that he turned to the Gentiles. We may be sure that he would not lightly give up his efforts to convert his own nation. Paul was a Jew, after all, and passionately proud of that fact; he loved his own people, their traditions and their laws, and he laboured earnestly to bring them under the sway of Christ. Years were to pass by before he was ready to turn to other peoples, before he saw the whole implication of the teaching of Stephen and before the consciousness that he was called to a new field of service pressed home upon him.

It is probable that Paul may have been influenced in his attitude toward the Gentiles by the work of Peter and others. Luke insists upon the fact that Paul was chosen of God, foreordained as he makes clear, to bring the Gospel to the Gentiles. At the same time he shows that Peter was the first of the Apostles to take steps to bring this into effect. Peter went to the home of Cornelius and received him and his household into the church. Others, also, had adopted an attitude of inclusion. Since these events must have had some effect on the thought and life of Paul, and may have exerted an influence upon him greater than even he, himself, was aware, we will turn to a brief discussion of this matter.

When Stephen was put to death his followers "were scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judæa and Samaria." Some of them went as far afield as Phenice and Antioch. This dispersion led to the preaching of the Gospel in other places besides Damascus. Philip carried the message to the Samaritans. These people formed the connecting link between the Jew and the Gentile. The Samaritan was hated by the Jew, but he was connected with him by ties of blood and of religion. When Philip turned to these half-brothers of the Jews, the soil had been prepared for the seed of the Word by previous knowledge of the Jew's religion. Here, we read, Philip was welcomed and Samaria received the Word with rejoicing. Peter and John were sent on from Jerusalem to help in this work. In Acts 8: 14–17, Luke writes:

"Now when the apostles which were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God they sent unto them Peter and John: who, when they were come down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost: (for as yet he was fallen upon none of them; only they were baptised in the name of the Lord Jesus). Then laid they their hands on them and they received the Holy Ghost."

These Samaritans were at least part Jews, with a background of Jewish tradition and religion; but Philip did not content himself with this work. He went on to encounter the Ethiopian chamberlain. The latter was eager to learn and to do the will of God. This was considered by Philip as a sufficient motive. Accordingly he instructed him, baptized and received him into the church.

Peter, too, played a large part in this popularizing of the Gospel. It is a striking fact that both Peter and Paul changed their thinking on this very vital matter, but each in a different way. Paul evidently began by preaching to the Jews and turned later to the Gentiles; Peter began with the Jews, also, then recognized the right of the Gentiles in the persons of the Samaritans and of Cornelius and his family, after which he turned back again to the Jews. The story of this twofold change is supplied by the historian, Luke, and later supplemented by Paul. Luke informs us that Peter was in Joppa, in the home of Simon, a tanner. While resting and meditating upon the housetop he had a great vision. There came down from heaven a vessel, like a sheet tied at the four corners. It was filled with all manner of living things. Peter was commanded to "Rise, kill and eat." His amazement is best told in the words of the historian:

"Peter went up upon the housetop to pray about the sixth hour: and he became very hungry and would have eaten: but while they made ready he fell into a trance, and saw heaven opened, and a certain vessel descending unto him, as it had been a great sheet knit at the four corners, and let down to the earth: wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air. And there came a voice to him, Rise, Peter, kill and eat. But Peter said, Not so, Lord: for I have never

eaten anything that is common or unclean. And the voice spake unto him again the second time, What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common."

In the meantime there arrived from Cæsarea, from Cornelius, a centurion of the Italian band, messengers requesting that Peter would return with them to the house of their master. Here was a problem for Peter to solve; for Cornelius was a Gentile. Peter, however, convinced that he had correctly interpreted the vision to mean that God had opened the kingdom to the Gentiles on the same terms as to the Jews, went to the officer's house. He had learned, as he tells us, " that God is no respecter of persons."

In consideration of all these facts it seems most reasonable to assume that Paul, like the other Apostles, turned first of all to the people of his own nation. His private thoughts may have been toward freedom for the Gentiles to enter the Church, but in practice he confined himself to the Jews. He met with little response. Meanwhile the leaven of Stephen's preaching was having its effect upon him. His ideas were changing. He was beginning to see into the heart of the Master's teaching. It was, in all probability, the question of success or failure that finally influenced him to turn his back upon his own countrymen and his face to the Gentiles.

The secret of the success of the great Apostle lies in the strength of his conviction that he was called, both to Jews and Gentiles, not of men, but of God. It will be of interest, therefore, before proceeding to the more practical and definite work to which he gave himself, to discuss the significance of that call to Paul. In the opening words of his Epistle to the Romans he introduces himself as, " Paul, called to be an Apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God." In the introduction of the Epistle to the Galatians we read, " Paul, an Apostle (not from men, neither through man, but through Jesus Christ and God)."

What, then, was the meaning of Apostleship to Paul? First of all it implied faith in God. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews says, " Without faith it is impossible to be well pleasing unto him; for he that cometh to God must believe

that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him." Faith in God implies belief in Him as Creator, Ruler, Father. But that is merely the Christian's starting point. Paul, the persecutor, believed in God with all the ardour of his being. The Mohammedan will say with as much enthusiasm as any Christian, "There is no God but God." There are millions of people who have faith in God, who can lay no claim to the name Christian.

Apostleship implies faith in Jesus as the Son of God. The Apostles' Creed, formulated in a later age, says, "I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord." Paul would have subscribed to that statement. He believed that Jesus whom he saw on the Damascus road, who had called him to service, was the same Jesus whom Stephen saw on the right hand of God. He was the glorified Christ, risen from the dead. Paul believed that he had seen the same risen Christ who had appeared to the older Apostles. In one of his Epistles he gives a list of these appearances of the Master. Using the same Greek word, he includes in this list the appearance to himself on the way to Damascus. Paul believed that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ of God.

At the same time it must be noted that faith, to Paul, meant much more than intellectual belief. He has been censured for preaching a doctrine of license. In his own day he was accused of preaching that faith alone was necessary for salvation. There are those who still affirm that his message has its logical issue in the form without the content—that one may believe in Christ and do as he likes; that mere intellectual assent to the proposition that Jesus is Christ will of itself bring salvation. This is completely to miss the point of Paul's teaching. Faith, to Paul, implies an inner religious experience. Here was the real meaning of conversion. The will of man must be entirely lost in the will of Christ. There must be a real transformation of the soul and of the life when faith in Christ enters. This was the Gospel of the new creature in whom, "old things have passed away, behold all things have become new."

Here is the secret of the success of Paul's ministry, as it is of all the Apostles. Peter is no longer the vacillating dis-

ciple but the man of Pentecost; John is no more the son of thunder but one whose life is transformed to love. The seven devils have departed from the soul of Mary Magdalene. Paul, the persecutor has become Paul, the Apostle. Jesus chose a little company of men who had no training for their work, save the spirit of a great faith, and an ennobling ideal. They may not have been rude, unlettered men, but they were men of limited education, except Paul. It is just possible we may have overestimated his connection with the schools of his day. These men had no wealth or influence, yet they succeeded in the face of great difficulties in establishing the Church upon a firm basis. The secret of this amazing success, and especially is this true of the Apostle Paul, is to be found in the reality of an experience that changed them and gave them dynamic power.

In the opening verses of his Epistle to the Philippians, and in that to Philemon, Paul gives us an indication of how this experience had changed him. He calls himself the servant or the slave of Jesus Christ. Again he refers to himself as the prisoner of Christ. He is not merely indicating that he has been imprisoned because of his faith; that was true enough in a literal sense. He means to say that Jesus has taken complete possession of him. His will was lost in that of the Master. Body and soul belonged to Him. With what astounding courage he entered upon and carried forward his work we shall now proceed to see.

V

PAUL'S FIRST YEARS OF SERVICE

" And straightway he proclaimed Jesus."

WHEN the young theological graduate emerges from the sheltered halls of the seminary he has to face the world. His first concern is to find a field in which to exercise his talents. A sinful world is all too careless and indifferent about its soul. There is no clamour to be saved. The preacher must find his own field of service. The historian of the life of David Livingstone tells us that the great missionary and discoverer pleaded to be sent to that place where the work was the hardest and the discouragements the heaviest to be borne. But there are all too few David Livingstones. Even he had a field of work designated for him. The average young minister must select his own, or parade his learning and ability until some congregation gives him a " Call."

Paul had received his preliminary training in Arabia and Damascus and must turn his attention to a permanent work. No Presbytery ever looked with more suspicion upon the theology of a young graduate than that with which Paul met when he faced the Fathers in Jerusalem for license and ordination. He had to wait many years before he was even given their approbation. The Fathers and Brethren in Jerusalem were afraid of Paul. His reputation had been such as to cause no outburst of enthusiasm on the part of the leaders there. It is quite possible that some of them in Jerusalem had suffered indignities at his hands. The commandment to love your enemies is always one of the hardest to obey. Paul was doomed to find considerable delay in arranging his work for Christ.

We have already intimated that it is difficult, if not im-

possible, to find the correct order of events during the earliest years. The narratives in Acts differ and are vague. It would seem, according to the argument of the previous chapter, that Paul, following closely upon his conversion, went into the region of Arabia. There he faced his problem and, probably, preached the Gospel. After a period of three years he returned again to the city of his conversion. Here he threw himself zealously into the work of the ministry. Luke informs us in Acts 9 that

"He was certain days with the disciples that were at Damascus. And straightway in the synagogue he proclaimed Jesus that he is the Son of God. And all that heard him were amazed and said, Is not this he that in Jerusalem made havoc of them that called on his name. . . . But Saul increased the more in strength and confounded the Jews that dwelt in Damascus, proving that this is the Christ."

Here is the first account we have received of the teaching and preaching of Paul. It is the earliest intimation we have as to his doctrine. Many years later Paul, himself, informs us as to his message. To the Corinthian church he wrote, "I am determined to know nothing among you but Jesus Christ and him crucified." Here, at the beginning of his missionary work, his message is the same.

Paul was evidently not given much time to carry on his campaign in Damascus. He soon began to experience at the hands of the Jews the same kind of treatment that he had meted out to the Christians. The Jews were highly incensed at this man who, they thought, had turned traitor, and they threatened to end his life. These plots were discovered by the Christians who reported that the gates of the city were being carefully guarded to prevent the escape of Paul. Accordingly, in the dead of night, this young and gifted preacher was silently let down in a basket, over the wall and out of the city. Once free of Damascus he hastened to Jerusalem. It must have been humiliating to Paul thus secretly to leave the city where, without doubt, he had come with high hopes of helping to restore what he had pulled down; but he was not long permitted to use his talents. He went forth a fugi-

tive from the first city in which he attempted to witness for Christ. But this was the least of what he would be called upon to endure for his faith.

The historian tells us nothing of the mingled feelings with which the young Apostle retraced his steps and passed again the place where he had had such a transforming experience. Luke leaves to our imagination the thoughts which filled his mind as he came again to Jerusalem. What a change in his life had been effected since he had started out three years before on his memorable tour of persecution, "breathing threatenings and slaughter!" He soon found that he could expect the same treatment in Jerusalem that he had experienced in Damascus. He learned that the way of the persecutor, as well as that of the transgressor, is hard. He was "Persona non grata" to the Jerusalem church. The Christians in the Holy City refused to look upon him as a disciple; nor would they permit him to join with them in worship.

It was fortunate for Paul that he found a friend in Jerusalem who was willing to intercede for him before the mother church. That man was Barnabas, a native of Cyprus, but evidently living in Jerusalem and holding an influential position in the church there. Barnabas was the brother of Mary, the mother of John Mark. It was at her home that the disciples often gathered in the earliest days of the church. Here, if we can trust the tradition of the Fathers, Jesus had come with His disciples to partake of that last Passover feast and to institute the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Barnabas had heard of the conversion of Paul and believed that he was sincere and earnest in his desire to preach Christ and to serve the Church. Luke thus refers to this period of the Apostle's life, "And when he was come to Jerusalem, he essayed to join himself to the disciples; and they were all afraid of him, not believing that he was a disciple. But Barnabas took him and brought him to the Apostles, and declared unto them how he had seen the Lord in the way, and that he had spoken to him, and how at Damascus he had preached boldly in the name of the Lord."

On this word of Barnabas, Paul was gladly received into the fellowship of the mother church. Immediately he began

to preach. Luke adds the interesting statement that he disputed with the Grecian Jews. This would seem to prove that Paul's earliest sympathies were with the Apostles against the Hellenists. It is possible, either that all of Stephen's followers had not been driven out of the city, or that the influence of his teaching had spread to other synagogues. It seems clear that the views of these Grecian Jews would be the same as those of Stephen. The Apostles evidently felt that the Law and the customs of Moses were in danger from a new quarter. This action of Paul seems to prove that he did not feel any special call to the Gentiles at the time of his conversion, nor, indeed, for some years following that. This would strengthen our conclusion that it was only after repeated attempts to convert his own people that he turned to the Gentiles. However this may be, it is quite clear from Luke's account in this instance, that the Apostle preached in Jerusalem that Jesus was the Christ, and that he admonished his hearers to remember the sacredness of the Jewish Law.

He was not left long in peace. He tells us that he remained for a period of only fifteen days. To the Galatians he writes, " Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas (Peter) and tarried with him fifteen days. But other of the Apostles saw I none save James, the Lord's brother." Paul, himself, does not mention the fact that he preached, nor does he refer to his hurried departure because of the enmity of the Jews. Luke is responsible for the information that so bitter was the antagonism of Paul's countrymen in Jerusalem that the Christian brethren took him out of the city secretly and accompanied him as far as Cæsarea. They appear to have been only too eager to speed the parting guest. From Cæsarea Paul returned to his native city of Tarsus.

Whatever else the young preacher may have done during his first visit to Jerusalem as a Christian, it is quite evident from his own word that he had conferences with Peter extending over a period of fifteen days. Doubtless these intimate days would be spent in discussions concerning the life and death of Jesus. Peter had been one of the most loved disciples of the Master, and His constant companion. Paul

must have been eager for information. He strenuously denies that he received his Gospel from men. This he might well deny in view of the fact that he had been preaching the Gospel for three years before any conferences with the other Apostles had taken place. That is not to say, however, that he and Peter did not fully discuss the meaning of Christ's death when they had the opportunity to do so. Paul would, doubtless, be debtor to Peter for many of the facts of Jesus' life which previously he had had no means of learning. In I Corinthians 15, Paul gives a summary of the truths of the Gospel which he claims to have received:

"For I delivered unto you that which I also received, [he says] how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that he was buried and that he rose again the third day according to the Scriptures; and that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve: after that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. After that he was seen of James, then of all the Apostles."

Many scholars are of the opinion that most of these facts were received from Peter at this conference. But this information must have been the common property of the Church and was doubtless known to Paul long before he interviewed Peter on this visit to Jerusalem. Paul is simply stating, in the words which follow the quotation above, that the Gospel preached by Peter and that pronounced by himself were essentially one—"Therefore, whether it were I or they, so we preach and so ye believed." At the same time it would seem to be far beyond the realm of mere probability that when the two great Apostles met there would pass from the one to the other many intimate facts of Jesus' life and teaching.

We are indebted to the Acts for the information that Paul went from Jerusalem to Tarsus. Beyond that fact we have no knowledge covering this period of his life. Knowing his intense zeal and his love of preaching, it is not unreasonable to presume that he carried on missionary work in his own native city or its environs. This inference seems most natural in view of the fact that when Barnabas was in need of some

one to help him with the work in Antioch, he thought of Paul labouring in his native province of Cilicia.

In Acts 2 Luke informs us that

"They, therefore, that were scattered abroad upon the tribulation that arose about Stephen travelled as far as Phenice and Cyprus and Antioch speaking the word to none save only to Jews. But there were some of them, men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who, when they were come to Antioch spake unto the Greeks also, preaching the Lord Jesus."

This was the most momentous event in the history of the early Church, when the Gospel was first proclaimed to the Gentiles. It would appear from the record that here in Antioch, the method of approach was first of all to the Jews and to the Gentile proselytes in the synagogue. Gradually the work was extended to the Greeks alone. This would seem to be the natural inference from the fact that here in Antioch the word Christian was first used. The use of a distinctive term for the followers of Christ shows that the Church was becoming so separated from the Jewish synagogue that the Gentiles found a new name for themselves—or one was found for them by the Jews. It is contended by many that the term was first used as one of contempt. However that may be, its first use was so appropriate that it soon came into common favour and has continued to our own day. To-day, as in the days of the first Greek disciples, Christians are those who follow Christ and adhere to His cause.

Here, then, in Antioch the first Gentile church in history was established. This fact was reported to the mother church in Jerusalem and seems to have awakened no opposition. This leads to the supposition that the Greeks, while they formed a church that was distinctive from the synagogue, adhered more or less closely to the Jewish Law. One can hardly conceive of the church in Jerusalem extending sympathy and help upon any other grounds. Barnabas was sent from the Jewish capital to aid in this new movement in Antioch. The suggestion has been put forward that Luke seems to indicate that the Apostles were prepared for this forward movement among the Gentiles by Peter's recital of

his experience with Cornelius in Cæsarea. This would hardly seem possible, in view of the events which came after, and of the active and bitter opposition to Paul when he followed where this movement had appeared to lead. It would seem much more reasonable to assume that these Greeks in Antioch were still Jews in all but name and church affiliation. At any rate, Barnabas arrived in Antioch to carry forward the work. He was well fitted for such a task, for Luke informs us that "He was a good man and full of the Holy Spirit and of faith."

Looking about for a suitable companion and co-worker, Barnabas thought of Paul, for the genuineness of whose faith in Christ he had given his solemn word to the Fathers, and of whose work in Cilicia he had heard much praise. He therefore went to Tarsus in search of Paul. At the earnest solicitation of Barnabas the young Apostle transferred his allegiance to the church in Antioch. Thus, for the first time, as far as we are aware, Paul was introduced to that peculiar work for which he was so well fitted and to which he was divinely called.

Before proceeding further with the work of Paul upon the field, let us turn to a discussion of his visits to Jerusalem. This may seem to be a digression from the main purpose of this work but it has, we believe, an important bearing upon it. It is of interest, if not of the greatest importance, to learn whether the Apostle set before himself a program of work among the Gentiles and then, after many years of effort in his chosen field, went up to Jerusalem to receive the approval of the Apostles; or whether he brought the matter before them almost as soon as his work had begun. Did he pioneer in his own field, mapping out his own trails, or did he look to the mother church for confirmation, if not direction?

In Acts, chapters 2 and 12, Luke tells us that there came to the church in Antioch a man by the name of Agabus. This man prophesied a world-wide famine to come in the near future. The church in Antioch determined to solicit aid for the people of Judæa who were bound to be sufferers under such conditions. Money was collected, according to Luke,

and forwarded to Jerusalem by the hands of Barnabas and Paul. That is to say, the missionaries visited the mother church after they had been at work in Antioch for about a year.

Having carried the narrative thus far, Luke digresses to tell of the death of James, the brother of John, of the arrest of Peter and of the fate of Herod. Following this account he contents himself with the mere mention of the fact that Barnabas and Paul, having fulfilled their duty in Jerusalem, returned to Antioch. Further on in his history of the early Church and the Apostles, Luke mentions another visit of Paul to Jerusalem. This reference will be found in Acts 15: 1–29. This is the story of a conference between Paul and the older Apostles. This conference is generally referred to as the Jerusalem Council. In a very brief manner Luke informs us that Paul gave to the Jerusalem church an account of how God had blessed him in his work among the Gentiles. Whereupon the Fathers rejoiced in his success and commended his work.

In his Epistle to the Galatians the Apostle tells us that he went up to Jerusalem after fourteen years. He is not explicit as to whether the fourteen years are to be counted from his visit to the city when he spent fifteen days with Peter, or whether it was fourteen years after the beginning of his work in Antioch. Having briefly sketched his return from Damascus to Jerusalem, and having referred to his association with Peter only, he writes as follows:

"Afterwards I came unto the regions of Syria and Cilicia; and was unknown by face unto the churches of Judæa which were in Christ: but they heard only that he which persecuted us in times past now preached the faith which once he destroyed. And they glorified God in me. Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also. And I went up by revelation and communicated unto them that Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately to them which were of reputation, lest by any means I should run or had run in vain. But neither Titus who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised."

Thus Paul refers to the first visit after his conversion and also to the visit to the Jerusalem conference. He makes no mention of a visit between these two.

The problem therefore arises whether we are to identify Paul's account in Galatians with the so-called famine visit mentioned by Luke; or with a later passage in Acts 15, where Luke describes a Council that was held. Luke gives us very little information on which to build a chronology. He mentions the famine visit of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem as if it had taken place about one year after the beginning of their work in Antioch; but he does not specifically set a time limit. He makes no mention of a conference during this visit and seems to imply that no discussion was held in Jerusalem.

There has been endless discussion of this point. Scholars seem to be fairly agreed that there is no absolute chronological impossibility in connecting the famine visit of Luke with the conference visit of Paul narrated in Galatians 2. This is simply to say that the identity of the two is possible if not probable. It is not in line with our purpose to enter into a discussion of the arguments for and against the identity of these two visits. That would take us entirely too far afield. The whole problem of the date of the Epistle to the Galatians becomes involved in such discussion. If we accept the view that Paul's account in Galatians 2 is the story of the same visit mentioned by Luke in connection with the famine, then Paul has no account of the Council described by Luke in Acts 15: 1–29. On this hypothesis there must have been two Councils held, one described by Paul and omitted by Luke, and the other narrated by Luke and ignored by Paul.

The problem of the date of the Epistle to the Galatians enters the discussion by reason of the fact that it is argued by many that Galatians was written before the Jerusalem Council was held. Paul makes no mention of the later Council because he was writing before that event. On this ground the view of the early date of the Epistle has won much support. But this does not solve the question of Luke's silence concerning the Council which, on this view, would be an earlier one.

On the other hand, if Paul in Galatians 2: 1–10 gives an account of the same Council to which Luke refers in Acts 15: 1–29, why did Paul make no mention of the famine visit? The mere asking of such a question would seem to reflect upon the Apostle's honesty. In the Epistle to the Galatians he is engaged in an argument to establish his apostolic authority. He insists that he received his Gospel directly from Jesus and not from the older Apostles, as his enemies have contended. He shows that at the first he had had no intercourse with them. It was only after the lapse of three years that he visited Jerusalem. There he had seen none of the Apostles save Peter, and he had been with him for only fifteen days. He was not known by face to the churches of Judæa.

It is argued that, in view of the fact that Paul is strenuously defending his position, and, considering that it is the very matter of his intercourse with the Apostles that is under discussion, he would have been forced in honesty to mention another visit had one occurred. Otherwise his whole argument would have been invalidated. He was deliberately tracing the history of his connection with the Jerusalem church. Failure to mention a visit or conference that had taken place would have ruined his whole position in the matter and would have left him open to the charge of dishonesty. On these grounds some investigators have refused to accept the famine visit. Placed in the position of having to consider Paul as dishonest in the matter, or of acknowledging that Luke's account is historically inaccurate, many have not hesitated to adopt the latter position.

However, it seems that no such dilemma need come before us. Paul does not mention the famine visit because it has no connection with his argument. He is only concerned to show that his Gospel has come to him directly from Christ; he is not engaged in enumerating every instance in which he talked with Peter. Paul is dealing with a definite attack that has been made upon him. His enemies among the Jews have boasted that he came to Jerusalem to receive his Gospel from Peter; that he had been received, ordained and sent out to preach by the older Apostles. Paul accepts the challenge

and deals with it. He makes no mention of the famine visit because even his enemies had not brought that matter into the discussion. That was a special visit, an errand of mercy and had no relation at all to the question at issue. Paul, therefore, deals fully with his first visit to Jerusalem, mentions the fact that he went to Syria and Cilicia where, we infer, he first definitely entered his Gentile work, and then informs us that he came to Antioch. It was fourteen long years before he went up to Jerusalem to confer with the Apostles. At the conference the matter of the freedom of the Gentiles was discussed and settled. The famine visit had nothing to do with the question at issue and was not mentioned by either side in the long controversy.

Thus we arrive at the conclusion that there was but one Council held in Jerusalem. The story of what happened there is narrated by both Paul and Luke and will be discussed at some length in the chapter on "The Great Controversy." Luke mentions the so-called famine visit to Jerusalem and Paul ignores it altogether. Before taking up the story of the conference between the missionaries to the Gentiles and the Fathers in Jerusalem we will proceed to discuss the great enterprise that has come to be known as the first missionary journey.

VI

THE FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY

"Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them."

WE come now to that work which was distinctively Paul's own. Others helped him, to be sure, in the preaching of the Word and in the establishment of the churches; but the dominant figure and personality through it all was that of the Apostle. It was his work. Churches were established in Galatia, Macedonia, Achaia and Asia with incredible rapidity. In the New Testament Paul, and he only, is referred to as responsible for their foundation and organization.

A careful study of the records of Paul's achievements shows that he had a definite policy. In his book on "Missionary Methods, St. Paul's and Ours," Roland Allen argues that it is impossible to maintain that Paul deliberately planned his journeys. This is true as a general statement. He does not seem to have mapped out a definite itinerary to which he scrupulously adhered. At the same time it seems quite evident that he followed a very carefully worked out plan. He did not wander about indiscriminately, preaching wherever the notion or the exigencies of the moment led him. Paul selected certain definite strategic points at which to preach. Sometimes he did not know long in advance just where those places would be located; but he knew the kind of places he would select. Again and again we find that he changed his plans and preached in cities where possibly he had never intended to carry on a mission; but these were always the localities that best fitted in with his general scheme. He tells us, for instance, in his Epistle to the Galatians, that he remained in Galatia and preached there because of some bodily ailment that prevented his pushing

forward. In his second missionary enterprise we find more than one change of plan. For instance, he had planned to go through south Galatia and Cilicia to Ephesus, but was forced to go elsewhere, having been prevented, as he tells us, by the Holy Spirit. He attempted to enter Bithynia but had to change his mind for the same reason. It was a vision that led him into Macedonia which did not seem to lie within his plan of campaign, at least not in that particular journey. His work at Athens, and especially at Corinth, did not seem to be part of his original plan.

It would appear quite conclusive that Paul did not follow a regular itinerary of preaching places, mapped out in advance. While this seems quite clear, it is also true that he selected places of influence and power, and passed by other localities that were not so strategically located. It was his aim to establish the church only in cities that conformed to a certain type. These were to act as radiating centres, that the Gospel might find its way to all the district round about. This was the reason why Paul, when he had built up a church in a certain city, could say that the whole province had been evangelized. He thought in terms of the latter rather than of the former. For example, while we might not be able to say that he planned to speak in any particular city in Macedonia, he certainly planned to spread the Gospel message through Macedonia. The cities would be selected when he came to the definite work of the province. Speaking in general terms it was his ambition to preach in the four great provinces of the East and then to turn his attention to the West and Spain.

In fulfillment of this design he selected certain cities. If we examine a map of the time we can see how these preaching places of the Apostle stand out in bold type. They were centres of commerce and influence. We should remember that his aim was not only to preach the Word but to establish the visible church. In each city certain leaders would be selected and trained that they might not only carry on the work in the local church, but evangelize the neighbourhood when Paul proceeded forward. This scheme of missionary propaganda called for the local church to be responsible for

the district. The city became the key to the whole province. When elders had been ordained and the church placed on a working basis, Paul considered that the province had been provided for. He had succeeded in transferring his own zeal into the hearts of his converts and he knew that the church would respond with missionary enthusiasm.

This was the plan that had been laid upon him; this was his distinctive contribution to the early Church. Others might preach to individuals and to groups; he must carry the Gospel to the remotest bounds of the Empire, preaching to Jews and Gentiles. In his "Life of Paul," Professor Robinson says, "He was a David Livingstone, with the height and depth and breadth of Livingstone's soul, sent, not to darkest Africa, but to the most enlightened cities of his world."

THE FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY

Paul, Barnabas and John Mark set out together on this first missionary adventure. They sailed to the island of Cyprus where Barnabas had been born and brought up. After a tour of the island they came at length to Paphos, the capital city, seat of the Roman administration; for Cyprus, like the rest of the Mediterranean world, was under the power of Rome.

It is interesting to note that Paul, in his first missionary wanderings, kept close to the Roman Administration. The first journey, both to Cyprus and to south Galatia, shows this feature of his general plan. South Galatia was the next Roman province to Cilicia, where Paul was born. Between these two provinces lay much territory that he must have traversed often in his coming and going. There were cities here, also. One would naturally expect, especially if Paul had carried on missionary work in Cilicia, as seems most probable, that he would have turned to these regions, these cities. This is exactly what he did not do. The explanation is doubtless to be found in the fact that these were not Roman provinces.

It might even be argued that within the Roman provinces Paul chose certain cities as centres for his work, not because

they were more influential than other cities he might have chosen, but because they were close to Roman officials and Roman soldiers. In his "Missionary Methods" Allen says that

"He felt as a Roman citizen he could in the last resort expect and receive the protection of Roman officials against the fanatical violence of the Jews; but he did not seek Roman protection. He found under the Roman Government something more than peace and security of travel. He found not only toleration and an open field for his preaching; there was also in the mere presence of Roman officials, an influence which materially assisted his work. The idea of a world-wide Empire which they represented, the idea of the common citizenship of men of many different races in that one Empire, the strong authority of the law, the one peace, the breaking down of national exclusiveness, all these things prepared men's minds to receive St. Paul's teaching of the kingdom of Christ, and of the common citizenship of all Christians in it."

In the city of Paphos, at the court of the pro-consul, Sergius Paulus, there was a Jew called Elymas. He was a sorcerer and doubtless made a good living playing upon the credulity of Sergius Paulus. When the missionaries appeared before the pro-consul, and when he showed an inclination to hear them, Elymas did his utmost to interfere with the interview. Here, for the first time, Paul called upon those powers of working miracles which he undoubtedly possessed. Elymas was blinded so that he had to be led away by the hands of his friends. Luke tells us that Paulus believed in the name of Jesus, being astonished at the power of the servant of God, and at his teaching.

In the quotation at the opening of this chapter will be found the words of Luke, "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them." This is an indication that at its inception here in Cyprus, Barnabas was the leader. It was natural that this should be so; for Barnabas was a Christian teacher of much experience and carried with him the full approval of the mother church. The fact that the expedition went first of all to Cyprus, the home of

Barnabas, indicates that he was the leader. After this incident, however,—the blinding of Elymas and the conversion of Paulus—we hear no more of Barnabas and Saul but of Saul and Barnabas. The co-worker becomes the recognized leader of the expedition. Henceforth he is known as Paul. To avoid confusion between Saul and Paul we have adopted the latter name from the beginning.

Leaving Paphos and Cyprus, the company sailed for Perga on the coast of Asia Minor. It was at this latter city, Perga, that John Mark deserted his companions and returned to Jerusalem. It has been suggested that Mark was angry because Paul had usurped the place of Barnabas as leader. Mark was the nephew of Barnabas, being the son of Mary his sister. The theory has also been advanced that Mark started out lightly upon this great adventure. He now began to see that the dangers and the rigours of the enterprise were far greater than he had anticipated. Neither theory is very complimentary to John Mark. As a matter of fact we have no certain knowledge as to the reason for Mark's departure. We only know that he deserted and that his action was the real cause of the break that later occurred between Paul and Barnabas.

From Perga the missionaries proceeded into the country that is generally called south Galatia, as far as Antioch in Pisidia. Here Paul preached a very interesting sermon in the Jewish synagogue. It gives us an insight into the content of his preaching as well as the method of his work. We have no reason to suppose it was anything but a typical example of both. For this reason we will quote at length. In Acts 13: 14–39 Luke writes as follows:

" But when they departed from Perga, they came to Antioch in Pisidia and went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day and sat down. And after the reading of the law and prophets the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on. Then Paul stood up, and beckoning with his hand said, Men of Israel, and ye that fear God, give audience. The God of this people of Israel chose our fathers, and exalted the people when they dwelt as strangers in the

land of Egypt, and, with a high arm brought he them out of it. And about the time of forty years suffered he their manners in the wilderness. And when he had destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, he divided their land to them by lot. And after that he gave unto them judges about the space of four hundred and fifty years, until Samuel the prophet. And afterwards they desired a king; and God gave unto them Saul, the son of Sis, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, by the space of forty years. And when he had removed him, he raised up unto them David to be their king; to whom also he gave testimony and said, I have found David, the son of Jesse, a man after my own heart, which shall fulfill all my will. Of this man's seed hath God according to his promise raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus: when John had first preached before his coming the baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel. And as John fulfilled his course he said, Whom think ye that I am? I am not he. But, behold there cometh one after me, whose shoes of his feet I am not worthy to loose. Men and brethren, children of the stock of Abraham, and whosoever among you feareth God, to you is the word of this salvation sent. For they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets which are read every Sabbath day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him. And though they found no cause of death in him, yet desired they Pilate that he should be slain. And when they had fulfilled all that was written of him, they took him down from the tree, and laid him in a sepulchre. But God raised him from the dead. And he was seen many days of them which came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are his witnesses unto the people. . . . Be it known unto you therefore, men and brethren that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins: and by him all that believed are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses."

This sermon in Pisidian Antioch caused a sensation. After the service ended Jews and Greeks surrounded Paul and requested that he continue his message on the following Sabbath. Many of them followed him home to hear him privately. On the ensuing Sabbath an immense audience greeted the missionaries. Paul, Barnabas and the Jews were

all surprised to see the throng that came to hear the Apostles. The astonishing thing to every one was that the Greeks were there in such large numbers. It seems to have been this fact —that the Gentiles were becoming interested—and not the preaching of Jesus as Messiah, that first amazed and then angered the Jews. This anger was directed, strangely enough, not at those whose actions had caused it but at the Apostles. Luke does not enter into detail but there must have been a regular congregational brawl. He does tell us that the Jews interrupted the preachers, contradicted and then blasphemed them. Here, for the first time, Paul took a definite stand against the Jews. Here he gave his famous ultimatum, " Lo, we turn to the Gentiles."

The next city visited was Iconium. Here, too, we find the missionaries beginning their work in the synagogue. As in Antioch their success was instantaneous. Once again, also, the Jews realized that their traditional beliefs and customs were endangered and the city was aroused. Not content that the men of their own nation were antagonistic the Jews attempted to influence the Greeks against the preachers. Paul and Barnabas, however, were not the men to be easily turned aside from their purpose. We are informed by Luke that they wrought many signs and wonders in the daily execution of their duties, and that many believed on the name of Jesus.

This increasing popularity only stirred the Jews to greater lengths of bitterness and hatred. As so often happened during the life of Paul, the more his fame and influence increased among a certain section of the people, usually the Greeks who were earnestly seeking for God and light, the more intensely the Jews hated him and sought to do him bodily harm. Luke adds a word in this connection which throws much light upon the characters of Paul and Barnabas. Especially does it illumine that of the former, for Barnabas was a man more given to ways of peace. Luke says:

" But the Jews that were disobedient stirred up the souls of the Gentiles and made them evil affected against the brethren. Long time, *therefore,* they tarried there, speaking boldly in the Lord."

One feels that these words refer especially to Paul. Antagonism brought out the best that was in him. It was necessary in the face of opposition, to work all the harder and to remain longer, that his converts might be established in the faith. Only thus could Paul feel assured that they would endure when he left them. These brave souls, pioneering in the work of the Church, would not be frightened away nor would they go until the foundations of the church had been laid sure and strong.

Luke gives us very little in the way of detailed information concerning the visit of the Apostles to Iconium; but legend adds to our interest, if not to our knowledge, a curious story. It is reported that a damsel named Thekla heard Paul preach and insisted that she be baptized. She dressed herself as a boy in the hope that she might accompany the missionaries. The legend informs us that she was exposed to the beasts and that she braved martyrdom, but escaped all dangers and lived to a good old age. The most interesting part of the story is to be found in the fact that it carries a description of Paul which may well be accurate. The Apostle is described as a " short man, bandy-legged, healthy-looking, with his eyebrows meeting each other, inclined to be red-headed, of gracious presence."

At length Paul and Barnabas determined that if they were to escape from Iconium without bodily injury they must move farther afield. Accordingly they proceeded to Lystra, some eighteen miles beyond Iconium. Here there was no Jewish synagogue; at least Luke makes no mention of one. Strangely enough, in this city it was not the preaching of Jesus as Messiah which brought the missionaries into personal danger but the working of a miracle, an act of mercy. In Acts 14: 8–10 Luke writes:

" And at Lystra there sat a certain man impotent in his feet, a cripple from his mother's womb, who had never walked. The same heard Paul speaking; who, fastening his eyes upon him, and seeing that he had faith to be made whole, said with a loud voice, Stand upright on thy feet. And he leaped up and walked."

The immediate result of this act of healing was that Paul and Barnabas were looked upon as messengers from the gods. Luke records that the people

"lifted up their voices saying, in the speech of Lycaonia, The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men. And they called Barnabas, Jupiter; and Paul, Mercury, because he was the chief speaker. Then the priest of Jupiter whose temple was before the city, brought oxen and garlands unto the gates, and would have done sacrifice with the multitude. But when the apostles, Barnabas and Paul, heard of it they rent their garments and sprang forth among the multitude, crying out and saying, Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are men of like passions with you, and bring you good tidings, that ye should turn from these vain things unto a living God, who made the heavens and the earth and the sea, and all that in them is."

According to an old Greek legend, Jupiter (Zeus) and Mercury (Hermes) had twice visited Lycaonia. On the first occasion Lycaon had entertained them by setting human flesh upon the table. For this he was turned into a wolf. The two gods returned for a second visit. On this occasion Bancis and Philemon, a poor couple, received them with hospitality. Because they were the only people who had done so, the gods rewarded them with the promise that they should depart this life together, that neither should be left to mourn the other.

The healing of the cripple by the Apostles had forced the people to the conclusion that Jupiter and Mercury had arrived on the earth a third time. As before they had come in the guise of men. There was a temple for the worship of Jupiter in the city. The priest, therefore, rushed forward to lead the people in a sacrifice to the two gods in human form. It was with great difficulty that Paul restrained them.

Into the midst of this hero worship came the two messengers of Jesus from Iconium. A fanatical crowd, given to shouts of acclaim, may easily be turned into hatred. The difference between the emotions of excitement and of anger seems to be very slight. It was the same crowd essentially

that sang "Hosannah to the son of David," on that first Palm Sunday in Jerusalem, who on the following Friday morning cried, "Crucify him! Crucify him!" Here also in Lystra the fanaticism of the crowd was turned to bitter hatred as soon as Jewish emissaries arrived from Iconium with the false information that Paul was a worker of miracles through the powers of darkness. The mob pelted Paul with stones and left him for dead upon the streets. Later he revived in the presence of his friends who had taken him outside the city.

Jesus had commanded His disciples, "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another." In obedience to this pronouncement Paul and Barnabas moved on to Derbe. The only information Luke gives us as to the work of the Apostles in this city is to the effect that they made many converts. The end of the first missionary journey was in sight. Three little verses in the fourteenth chapter of Acts tell a wonderful story of heroism. Luke says:

"And when they had preached the Gospel to that city, and had made many disciples, they returned to Lystra and to Iconium and to Antioch, confirming the souls of the disciples, exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God. And when they had appointed them elders in every church and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord on whom they had believed."

What sublime courage! The story is very simply told but there is no finer record of missionary heroism in all the annals of men. Paul and Barnabas were close to the Cilician Gates when they were in Derbe. By a comparatively short journey they could have passed down through the Taurus mountains into Tarsus and thence on to Antioch, from which city they had started out. They were weary. Paul, especially, had had more to bear than even a strong man could have endured. Nevertheless they determined to retrace their steps through the towns where they had preached. To return again to the cities where they had suffered so much required courage of the highest order. They took the long journey back through

Lystra, Iconium and Pisidian Antioch. In each place, Luke informs us, they counselled the little groups, encouraged them and appointed elders to supervise the work at large. At length they arrived at Syrian Antioch to take a much needed furlough.

VII

THE GREAT CONTROVERSY

"They gave to me the right hand of fellowship."

WE have seen that the beginnings of Gentile Christianity were in Syrian Antioch. Not Jerusalem but Antioch is the mother of the world-wide Church. Here Paul and Barnabas began their work; here, also, they turned to the Gentiles. Up to the time that Paul presented his ultimatum to the Jews we cannot trace any definite leaning toward that position of freedom from the Law which he later adopted. Here, in Antioch, Paul came to a final decision to build up a Gentile church that should be separated from the Jews; that should live its own life outside of the Law. Here he despaired of the salvation of his own people. This is the beginning of that world-wide Church which has spread to the uttermost parts of the earth.

Did Paul have in his mind at this time any conception as to the kind of church this new Gentile movement would produce? Did the problem of the difference between the Jew and Gentile as it would affect Christianity, fully come home to him? As far as the Apostle, himself, was concerned, he was a Jew and felt that he was a debtor to keep the whole Law. So far as we are aware he never personally departed from this position. His experience thus far had been with Jews or those who were Jews in fact, if not in name. The members of the Christian communities in Damascus, Jerusalem, Cilicia and Antioch would be of two kinds. In the first place there were Jews who were heirs of the Law. Their acceptance of Jesus as Messiah would not alter their attitude to the laws and traditions of their fathers. Peter was amazed that the hand of God should point him to those who were outside the Law. James, the Lord's brother, and the other

Apostles with him in Jerusalem, were noted for their strict adherence to the laws of Moses. In the second place there were Greeks to whom the Law could not have been as sacred as it was to the Jews; but they had willingly come under its operation and had accepted circumcision. In short, they were Jews in everything but name.

The preaching of Paul and Barnabas, with its consequent influx of Gentiles, had raised a new problem. What was to be done with them? Were they to be circumcised according to the Law and made into Jews as a preliminary step to their entrance into the Christian Church? Only thus could there be any fellowship between Jew and Gentile, in the church or out of it. Was it possible to receive these Greeks on their profession of faith in Christ and without the Law as a concomitant? This would really involve the foundation of a new church. It was to this latter position Paul came and he determined to proceed with the establishment of the Gentile churches. It was in accordance with this plan that, after going as far as Derbe, instead of taking the short route back by way of the Cilician Gates, he deliberately chose to return by the way he had come. His express purpose was to elect elders and establish the churches.

It seems quite certain that the Apostle was driven to this position and that he adopted it entirely upon his own responsibility. It was not easy; for he held an exalted opinion of his race and of their laws and customs, but he believed that he had been the recipient of a special revelation from the Master, and that through his preaching Jesus was calling the Gentiles into the church on the same plane with the Jews. Thus he explained his conversion and his call.

That the Jews would be in bitter antagonism to this whole programme was only to be expected. It was inevitable that they would be angered and that bitterness and persecution would follow. Some of them, at least, would be as earnest as Paul, himself, had been, and he had not hesitated to persecute. These Jews would not sit idly by and see the Gentiles becoming inheritors of the Jewish Law without adopting its covenant and obeying its precepts. Not only the Jews who were outside the church, but likewise those who were within

its membership would be sure to oppose this new movement. But we are interested chiefly in the attitude adopted by the Jewish Christians.

Paul was not left long in doubt as to what their attitude would be. The opposition to the new freedom was swift and sure, and was shown in no uncertain way. The cry of alarm was sounded throughout every Jewish community. These Jews were quick enough to see that freedom to the Gentiles meant that the sacred law of Moses would soon be superseded by a new way of life. Immediately these enemies of Paul undertook to send messengers to all the churches which he had established. They tried to undo what he had done. Whether these messengers were despatched with the consent of the Jerusalem church is not clear. We have already seen the attitude of Peter in connection with Cornelius. In that case the Fathers in Jerusalem had been won over to Peter's point of view, though under the compulsion of an earnest pleading. Whatever was the personal conviction of James, the Lord's brother, at this time, he clearly placed himself on the side of freedom to the Gentiles later on. Evidence is not lacking that Paul blamed the leaders of the mother church; but he does not make any definite or specific charge. At any rate, whether with the consent or connivance of the Jerusalem church, or whether they were acting entirely upon their own responsibility, the Judaisers appeared in Paul's churches and they caused him no little worry.

It is easy for us to see how appealing would be the arguments of these antagonists of Paul. Let us suppose, for example, that the Apostle, at infinite cost in labour and suffering, had established a church in Antioch, and, having passed on to a new field, believing that the church had been placed on a firm basis and would be able to stand alone, immediately the Judaisers appeared upon the scene. These enemies of Paul would insist first of all that he had no right to preach a Gospel that was different from the message proclaimed by the original Apostles. Who was this Paul? He was not really an Apostle at all. He had never lived with Jesus; he had never even seen Jesus. He had not been called to the work of the Master, but had been commissioned to

preach by Peter, James and John. The only Gospel he had to preach was that which he had received from them. Wherever he exceeded the authority given him by the mother church he erred.

These arguments were actually used against Paul as we see from his Epistles. In writing to the Galatian churches which he had established, and of which Antioch would be one, he says, "Paul, an Apostle (not from men, neither through man, but through Jesus Christ and God)." In verses 7–8, he writes:

"But there be some that trouble you and would pervert the Gospel of Christ. But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. . . . But I certify you, brethren, that the Gospel which was preached of me is not after man. For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. . . . I conferred not with flesh and blood. Neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were Apostles before me; but I went into Arabia and returned again to Damascus." Again, Paul writes at a later time, "Am I not free? Am I not an Apostle? Have I not seen Jesus, our Lord? If to others I am not an Apostle, yet, at least, I am to you."

Elsewhere, defending his apostleship, he points to the fact that he worked signs and wonders. This, he claims, was the positive proof that he had been called of the Lord to be an Apostle.

Following up this attack upon the honesty of Paul, his enemies would point out that Jesus was Himself a Jew. He was circumcised and kept the law of Moses. These Gentiles would not be aware of the fact that, while Jesus was of the Jewish race and nation, His attitude toward the Law was not that of the Pharisees. They could hardly be expected to know that Jesus' position in regard to the Law was the very point at issue between Him and the Scribes; that it was for this very reason they had condemned Him to death. Having stressed the fact that Jesus was a Jew, that He knew the Scriptures and kept the Law, these antagonists of Paul would

doubtless insist that a true Christian was one who followed the Master in all things. To this almost unanswerable argument they would add the further fact that the idea of the Messiah and of the kingdom of God, the one of which Jesus fulfilled and the other He preached, would be unintelligible apart from the Law. Furthermore, the Scriptures expressly command circumcision as the basis of God's covenant with Abraham and with Abraham's seed.

Perhaps the strongest argument of all would be the fact that the Apostles, including Paul, himself, kept the Law. If these men who had lived with Jesus, and to whom He had committed the Gospel, felt that it was necessary to salvation to keep the Law, then, surely, it was binding on all Christians. Why did Paul teach his converts that it was not necessary for them to keep the Law, while, at the same time he, himself, was obedient to its demands? Why was he permitting them to enter the kingdom of God by a back door? The answer, unquestionably, was that he might glory in the numbers that he was herding into the Church. Why not be on the safe side by accepting and adhering to the customs of Moses?

Such arguments as these were causing the Galatian churches to waver in their allegiance to the Gospel as preached by Paul. The Apostle was worried over the situation and determined to have the matter settled once for all by no less a means than a pronouncement from the Jerusalem Fathers.

Accordingly, a Council of the Church, or perhaps we should say of the churches, was called to meet in the city of Jerusalem. This conference was extremely important, for upon its decision in this vital matter rested the whole future of Christianity. Especially would its pronouncement affect the work of Paul. If the Fathers decided against him, the opposition to his work would go on and would increase in intensity. The situation would eventually have become so intolerable that one of two things must have happened: either Paul would have been forced to give up his work, or he would have broken definitely with the church in Jerusalem and formed a new body in Christ. Either alternative would have been

ruinous. But Paul would never have given up his missionary enterprise. There was no power on earth that could have forced him to turn his back upon a work in which he believed himself to have been led of Christ. Therefore the division of the Church would have been inevitable. Because of this fact—that the whole programme of the Apostle was involved —we will discuss the Council of Jerusalem at some length.

In his Epistle to the Galatians Paul gives an account of the Council and its finding. Since this account was written by Paul, himself, and since he played a leading part in the whole discussion, and since the narrative was written down by him only a few years after the events which he describes, we will quote his words in full. Galatians 2:1–10 says:

"Then after the space of fourteen years, I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also with me. And I went up by revelation; and I laid before them the Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately to them which were of reputation, lest by any means I should run, or had run in vain. But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised: and that because of false brethren unawares brought in who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage: to whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you. But of these who seemed to be somewhat, (whatsoever they were it maketh no matter to me: God accepteth no man's person) for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me: but contrariwise, when they saw that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the Gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter; (for he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles;) and when James, Cephas and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me the right hand of fellowship; that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision. Only they would that we should remember the poor; the same which I also was forward to do."

We have examples to-day of many a test case before the law, when an individual or a corporation wishes to test the

meaning or constitutionality of some particular statute. In such a case an offense is intentionally provided to see what the judgment will be. A precedent is thus established. Paul provided such a test case. He took with him, not only Barnabas who was beloved by the whole Church, and who could testify as to the quality of Christianity produced without the pale of the Law, but also Titus, an uncircumcised Greek convert.

At the Council the Judaisers were present in force. The initial skirmish was fought over Titus. The opponents insisted strenuously that he be circumcised before being admitted into the fellowship of those present at the conference. This battle took place in committee. Paul contended furiously that Titus be not circumcised. He knew that if he yielded on this point all would be lost. A tactical victory might win the whole campaign. The Apostles yielded and gave to Paul and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship in solemn agreement that the missionaries should continue to preach to the Gentiles, without the appendage of the Law, while they, the older Apostles, should go to the Jews. According to Paul this was an absolute and final agreement without any strings attached to it whatsoever. Paul adds that the Jerusalem Apostles expressed the hope that the missionaries would remember the poor. This was in no sense, according to Paul, a condition of the agreement, a quid pro quo, but a frank wish that the connection between the two parties might be kept alive by means of that charity which is a never-failing bond of sympathy and love. Paul does not say so, but his later career proves that the poor to be remembered were those of Jerusalem.

There is another account of this same Council included in the New Testament. In view of the fact that there are serious differences between this narrative and the statement of Paul, we will also include Luke's account in full. In Acts 15 he says:

"And certain men which came down from Judæa taught the brethren and said, Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved. When, therefore, Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and disputation with

them, they determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain others of them should go up to Jerusalem unto the Apostles and elders about this question. And being brought on their way by the church, they passed through Phenice and Samaria, declaring the conversion of the Gentiles; and they caused great joy unto all the brethren. And when they were come to Jerusalem they were received of the church, and of the Apostles and elders, and they declared all things that God had done with them. But there rose up certain of the sect of the Pharisees which believed, saying, That it was needful to circumcise them and to command them to keep the law of Moses. And the Apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter. And when there had been much disputing, Peter rose up and said unto them, Men and brethren . . . God put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith. Now, therefore, why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? But we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved even as they. Then all the multitude kept silence and gave audience to Barnabas and Paul declaring what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them."

Luke then proceeds to quote a speech which James delivered to the assemblage, agreeing with the sentiments expressed by Peter. He then presented his solemn finding in these words:

"Whereupon my sentence is that we trouble not them, which from among the Gentiles are turned to God; but that we write unto them that they abstain from pollutions of idols, and from fornication and from things strangled and from blood."

Thus Luke presents certain conditions to the agreement. While it may be frankly stated that there are differences that appear when we examine the two narratives, it is also clear that they are in essential agreement. Both accounts state that the Council was held in Jerusalem; that Paul and Barnabas came down from Antioch to plead the cause of the churches which they had established. Both are in agreement

that Gentile Christianity was freely and fully recognized by the mother church. They are in harmony, likewise, in narrating the fact that circumcision of the Gentiles was declared unnecessary. Luke and Paul both record that the missionaries were heartily commended for their work. Both James and Peter made public pronouncement of their approval.

While this is true, it is also clear that there are matters of disagreement. Paul speaks of a private meeting with the leaders, but says nothing of a public meeting. Luke, on the other hand, tells of a conference where not only the leaders were present but also a multitude of others. At this meeting of the whole Church the question at issue was hotly debated and an agreement reached only after Peter and James had spoken commending Paul's position. This difference of statement need cause us little difficulty. There is no reason to conclude that because Paul fails to mention a public meeting, at which an agreement arrived at in private was made public, that no such meeting was held. Paul was interested mainly in reaching an understanding. The real battle was fought out in committee before Paul and the leaders, and the former won his fight. Full and frank acknowledgment was given him. His work was commended and it was agreed that he should continue it with the full approval of the Fathers. He was more interested in the fact than in the pronouncement. There is no real or vital disagreement here.

But there are other matters that are not so easily disposed of. The main difference is to be found in verses 19–21, with verses 22–29, which merely repeat what has already been said. Notice that Luke represents James as saying:

"Wherefore my judgment is that we trouble not them that from among the Gentiles turn to God; but that we write unto them that they abstain from pollutions of idols, and from fornication and from things strangled and from blood."

These decrees were to be written down and despatched by messenger to the Gentile Church. He further states that such procedure was adopted and such a letter sent. Further, he quotes the very letter in verses 22–29. The decrees, them-

selves, are not so important as the fact that Paul expressly states that the Apostles added nothing to him. Nowhere does Paul even hint at any such compromise as the words of Luke suggest.

It seems almost incredible to suppose that Paul would ever have agreed to such terms. He would have been forced to have interpreted such a move as a last, and rather underhanded attempt, to foist some measure of Jewish prohibition upon his Gentile Church. That would have been the gentlest manner in which he could have viewed these prohibitions. He might easily have looked upon them as an insult to his preaching and to the fruits of his Gospel. These decrees were either legal or moral. If the former, then they were an attempt to enforce some measure of the Law; if the latter, then they must have been meant to supplement a teaching which they considered insufficient. In either case Paul would never have agreed to such terms.

In view of these facts, and of the still stronger consideration that Paul entirely fails to mention any decrees, indeed, expressly states that there were none, we can only conclude that Luke has included here some letter which has come into his possession. That he is quoting from a letter or document of some sort, seems clear from the fact that he twice quotes the prohibitions as decrees. Evidently Luke has before him an old document and is puzzled as to just where it belongs. He finally makes up his mind that it pertains to this Council and includes it here. Perhaps Luke knew that a letter had been sent forward by James. It is not unreasonable to conclude that after the agreement had been reached between Paul and Barnabas on the one hand, and Peter and James on the other, and after Paul had been asked to keep in touch with the mother church by means of charity to its poor, that the Jerusalem church decided that it would be a Christian act to forward the matter of the agreement in a formal way by the hands of some of the Jerusalem stalwarts. Luke had heard of this fact and, obtaining the fragment of another letter, he concludes that it belongs to this place and inserts it here.

In any Gentile Christian community that was attempting

to keep the Law the question of things strangled and of blood might become a live issue at any time. These Gentiles were accustomed to eat the flesh of animals that had been strangled. On the other hand, the Jews were very particular about the way their animals were killed for food. If the blood did not flow from the body the flesh could not be eaten. These and many other such matters were proscribed for the Jews by law. It was not a matter of individual choice. Blood could not be used as food. The Gentiles sometimes caught the blood as it flowed from the animal, and either drank it or prepared it for the table. This would be abhorrent to the Jew. But the Gentiles had lived so long under customs such as these that, when they became Jewish proselytes there was a danger that they would adhere to them even though the law under which they had come forbade. The same difficulty would arise over the question of meat that had been offered in sacrifice unto idols. The Jew would eat no meat that had been so sacrificed. The Gentile had no such scruples. But one could not be continually asking one's butcher whether the meat delivered to the home had been offered to idols, or whether it had been killed in just the proper manner enjoined by the Jewish Law.

One cannot as easily understand the decree that the Gentiles should refrain from fornication. There was much licentiousness among the Greeks, and sometimes immorality continued even after conversion to Christianity. Such things were by no means unknown in the Church as we see from Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. Doubtless Paul had this matter to contend with frequently among his new converts. The writer of this letter, also, which Luke presumes to be from the Jerusalem Council, finds it necessary to warn the Gentiles that Christianity and lasciviousness cannot exist side by side.

In conclusion, let us sum up what happened at this great conference which, at least formally, settled a burning question that had been troubling the Apostle for many years, and from the effect of which, unfortunately, he was not to be entirely free as long as he lived. This Council is sometimes called the watershed of the early Church and in this

summary we will get as close to the facts as we can. Paul, Barnabas, Titus and others came down from Antioch to Jerusalem to meet with the Apostles, to settle, if possible, this grave and troublesome question of the circumcision of the Gentiles. Before the Council met as an open session of the whole Church, there was at least one private meeting. Possibly there were more. At this private meeting or meetings, the missionaries explained what they had accomplished. The Judaisers, bitter enemies of Paul, were also present. They insisted on circumcision for the Gentiles. Paul argued against this. It seems likely that this private meeting came to a finding which was to be reported at an open meeting called for the purpose.

Finally a public meeting was held and the controversy was resumed. There was a strenuous debate. At length Peter arose and made a speech. He reminded his audience of the fact that he had gone to Cornelius, after having received definite leading from the Holy Spirit, and had baptized and received him into the church. God had shown conclusively that there was no difference between Jew and Gentile. Peter proclaimed that it was unfair to impose the yoke of the Law on the Gentiles since none of the Jews had been able to bear it.

This seems dangerously like argument from expediency and not from principle. Peter was heard in silence. At this stage of the proceedings Paul and Barnabas addressed the meeting. Doubtless they recounted the eagerness of the Gentiles to enter the Church of Christ and pointed out how God had, by signs and wonders, enabled them to accomplish great things. When they had finished, James, the Lord's brother, and the President of the Council, summed up the matter and gave his ruling as judge. The fact that no vote was taken, even of the Apostles and elders, seems to indicate that the real agreement had been reached in committee. In his summing up of the case, James admitted the strength of Peter's argument and showed how it was in agreement with prophecy. He then pronounced his judgment which became the finding of the Council. He made a personal request of the missionaries that they remember the poor of Jerusalem.

Thus the Council ended and Paul had won his long battle for the freedom of Gentile Christianity. The missionaries went back to their field with the Church's blessing. To make the finding more solemn in the eyes of the Gentiles, James commissioned Barnabas and Silas to carry a letter to Antioch with the announcement of the decision and with the best wishes of the mother church.

The news that the mother church had accepted the principle of Gentile freedom was joyfully received; but the question of the practical application of the decision soon came to the front. Peter came to Antioch to visit the young church and to add the incentive of his prestige. It was a splendid gesture on the part of the older Apostle. Nothing could have accomplished more to cement the feeling of good fellowship between the Jews and the Greeks and to show that they were "All one body in Christ." The days of controversy were over.

Unfortunately the visit led to trouble. Here was a community where Jews who were keeping the Law were living side by side with Greeks who had been freed from the Law. What attitude would Peter adopt? It was soon apparent that the settlement of the Council was only a compromise. Was the division of the Christian world racial or geographical? Was Palestine the boundary line? Did the decision mean that Paul was to feel free beyond the boundaries of the Holy Land to preach to Jews and Gentiles alike; or did it mean that Paul was to confine himself to the Gentiles even beyond Palestine and leave the Jews alone? Paul took the decision as geographical and upon his arrival in Antioch he proceeded to gather in both Jews and Gentiles. Apparently Peter took the same view.

Peter sat at the table with the Gentiles in Antioch. This matter was reported to the Jerusalem church and messengers came to him from James. Peter withdrew himself from fellowship with the Gentiles. Paul keenly felt the inconsistency of Peter's attitude and sternly rebuked him before the whole church. He felt, and rightly so, that the whole position for which he had contended was being imperilled by Peter's conduct; that the results of the Council would be made of no

effect and that the bitter warfare would go on. In Galatians 2 Paul writes as follows:

"But when Peter was come to Antioch I withstood him to the face because he was to be blamed. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles; but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision. And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him, insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation. But when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, I said unto Peter before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?"

A crisis had arisen and once again Peter was found wanting. Other Jews followed his example and even Barnabas was carried away with them. Luke seems to infer that Paul and Barnabas parted company over this matter of the Law. Paul points out that there were other matters of disagreement and that the final break came over the question of John Mark. The incident was prophetic of what was in store for the devoted disciple.

VIII

MACEDONIA AND ACHAIA

"Come over into Macedonia and help us."

IN his book, "The Life of St. Paul," Dr. James Stalker speaks as follows concerning this great missionary adventure:

"In his first journey Paul may be said to have been only trying his wings; for his course, adventurous though it was, only swept in a limited circle round his native province. In his second journey, he performed a far more distant and perilous flight. Indeed, this journey was not only the greatest he achieved, but perhaps the most momentous recorded in the annals of the human race. In its issues it far outrivalled the expedition of Alexander the Great when he carried the arms and civilization of Greece to the heart of Asia."

This is a true estimate, for Paul's great journey was the beginning of that expansion of Christianity which has to-day embraced a very large part of the whole world. That Christian movement, which in our own age recognizes no barriers of race, creed or language, which overcomes every handicap that fanaticism, envy, hatred and even lack of material resources place in its way, found its beginning when Paul started from Antioch on his second missionary journey.

At its inception, the Apostle undertook to revisit those churches which he and Barnabas had founded. He might well be anxious to see in person what influence the great controversy and the zealous opposition of the Judaisers had had upon his spiritual children. Barnabas, however, did not accompany him on this occasion. Luke informs us that an estrangement had been caused over the question of John Mark. Barnabas insisted that Mark should accompany them on this occasion. He had deserted them once before. It will

be remembered that Mark was a companion of the Apostles on their first journey but had turned back at Perga in Asia Minor. On this second journey, Paul wanted with him only those upon whose fidelity he could absolutely depend. Doubtless there were other matters of disagreement between Paul and Barnabas who had accomplished so much together. We have seen that when Peter withdrew from fellowship with the Gentiles, Barnabas also had been carried away with him. Possibly he was not willing to go the whole way with Paul in his position of absolute freedom. What a tragedy that these two men who had toiled and suffered together for the kingdom of God, who had stood shoulder to shoulder in the great controversy, had to come to the parting of the ways! However, Paul knew something of the road he had to travel, and he wanted no deserters with him on this occasion. Since neither would bow to the wishes of the other, Paul went one way and Barnabas and Mark another. Paul took with him Silas, who had come up to Antioch with the letter from James. Doubtless he had remained to become an enthusiastic helper of the Apostle.

It is interesting to note, in passing, that although Paul was a man of the most fervent zeal, one who could brook no interference with his plans for the advancement of the kingdom, and although his temperament was such that he could not understand one who "having put his hands to the plough, looked back," yet he was able to part with Barnabas in friendship. We note many tender and loving references to Barnabas in the letter to the Galatians which was written after this separation. Writing to Timothy from Rome, Paul requests his presence with him and pleads that he bring John Mark when he comes.

The first care of Paul and Silas was to revisit the churches in Galatia. Beginning at Antioch they seem to have gone northward through Tarsus and the Cilician Gates to Derbe and Lystra. In this latter city, Paul chose another companion who was closely associated with him for the rest of his life, Timothy, a young Gentile, possibly a native of Lystra, who had been converted under Paul's preaching during the first journey. Timothy was faithful to the ministry

and to the Apostle whom he appears to have loved as a father. Luke and Timothy, and possibly John Mark, were the only friends with the aged Apostle when he died in the city of Rome.

Paul caused Timothy to be circumcised. In view of his great fight for the freedom of the Gentiles, he has been severely censured for this seeming contradiction. But it appeared to the Apostle the reasonable thing to do. Most observers have upheld it as an act of wisdom on the part of Paul. If he continued to work from the synagogue in the towns he visited, as he had done in the past, and seemed always to do wherever feasible, being accompanied by an uncircumcised Gentile would only cause him unnecessary hostility. The Jews could show a great deal of prejudice, bigotry and stubbornness when they chose to do so, as Paul very well knew. Paul was willing to go this length, not so much to placate the Jews as to advance his work; not departing at all from his principles. It was merely a matter of practical benefit to his work. His message continued to be that circumcision or uncircumcision meant nothing. The Gospel meant everything.

From Derbe and Lystra the missionaries passed on to Iconium and Pisidian Antioch. In all of these places, they strengthened the churches in the faith and confirmed the people in their freedom from the Law. Westward and northward Paul, Silas and Timothy travelled. Bithynia on the shores of the Black Sea, appealed to the Apostle, but we read that he was forbidden of the Holy Spirit? Many suggessame reason, the narrative states, he was not able to enter Asia. What does Paul mean us to infer when he tells us that he was forbidden of the Holy Spirit? Many suggestions have been advanced to explain this change of plan. It is argued, for instance, that so bitter was the opposition of the Jews, that news of the coming of Paul had been carried on before him. He was led to see quite clearly that in the present temper of his enemies, his work in these provinces would be entirely unfruitful. If this be true, we may fairly assume that it was not the thought of opposition, or even persecution and suffering, that turned him aside, but the

knowledge that much more fruitful work might be done elsewhere. At any rate, whatever the reason, and we have no definite information, Paul and his companions turned toward the West and found themselves at Troas.

All this journeying took considerable time, many months, perhaps years. Of this entire period, we possess no further information than that the Apostle revisited the churches which he had established. Luke's account is in no sense an historical survey. He merely mentions events that stand out in the itinerary of Paul, events that, like sign-posts, mark out the progress of the work. Certain things that have to do with the establishment of the churches are commented upon or very briefly narrated. Of the Apostle's labours, of the sufferings he patiently endured in revisiting the churches, we are told nothing. Long is the catalogue of Paul's tribulations as narrated here and there in Acts; but we know from his own words that they were even greater than Luke's records. May we refer again to the story as it comes from Paul's own lips?

"Are they ministers of Christ? I am more; in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes, save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods. Once was I stoned. Thrice I suffered shipwreck. . . ."

Where did this man find the physical strength, to say nothing of the moral courage, to endure all this and live to tell the tale? Yet the book of Acts records only a minimum of these sufferings. Of the five scourgings at the hands of the Jews, Luke mentions only one; of the three beatings with rods, only one. Paul refers to three shipwrecks; not one is mentioned by Luke. The disaster on the island of Melita, narrated by Luke, is not one of those to which Paul refers, since that event took place long after Paul wrote his second letter to the Corinthian church.

It is idle for us to speculate as to when and where Paul suffered all these things. All we know from the narrative is that he and his companions were turned away from Asia and Bithynia and found themselves, at length, in Troas. Here

the three missionaries, Paul, Silas and Timothy, were joined by Luke, the "beloved physician," who wrote "The Acts of the Apostles" and the third Gospel. Tradition informs us that Luke was a native of Antioch. Scholars are of the opinion that, since he was a master of the Greek language, he was of the same race by birth. Strangely enough, he is the only writer of the New Testament who was not a Jew. Certain sections of the Acts, called "We Sections," were evidently written down from memoranda of Luke covering the very events which they describe.

Luke records that the Apostle and his party, of which he, himself, was now a member, proceeded from Troas to Philippi in Macedonia. Here there seems to have been no synagogue and on the Sabbath day Paul observed some women assembled by the riverside. He preached to them and his first convert in Europe was Lydia, a seller of purple, who was baptized with all her household. Immediately she offered the hospitality of her home to the Apostles. Perhaps this home became the first meeting place of the European Christians. We are not told where or how the church was organized, but we know that one was established and that it was very close to Paul's heart throughout the rest of his life. It was his first born among the strictly Gentile churches, the work to which he felt himself divinely called. Certainly Paul partook of the liberality of this congregation on more than one occasion. This was a mark of his highest esteem. The Epistle he wrote to this church is among the last we have from his hand, and is the most touching of all his letters.

Opposition to Paul developed here, too. There were no Judaisers to stir up the populace; at least there is no mention of antagonism from this source. It was the performance of a miracle that caused trouble for Paul at Philippi. A certain woman with a "spirit of divination" followed the Apostles about, crying, "These men are the servants of the most high God, which show unto us the way of salvation." She was evidently a servant or slave of a company who were making money out of her powers of divination. She proved to be a nuisance to the missionaries and after several days in which the Apostle's patience was severely tried, he com-

manded that the spirit come out of the woman. Once again the spirit of devil came out in subjection to the spirit of Christ, and the woman remained quiet and divined no more. Her owners, or managers as we would say in this modern age, were angered because Paul had interfered with their source of income. A tumult was stirred up among the people. Paul and Silas were arrested and brought before the judges on the charge that "These men, being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our city and teach customs which are not lawful for us to receive, neither observe, being Romans." The Apostles were scourged and imprisoned under the strict supervision of the jailer who placed them with their feet in the stocks.

Perhaps Paul and Silas recalled the word of Jesus, "Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven." Certainly they rejoiced that they were accounted worthy to suffer for Christ. With bleeding backs upon the cold stone floor and with feet bound in the stocks, they encouraged one another and praised God. They prayed and sang Psalms. This was a new sound in the Philippian jail and the other prisoners were astonished. In the middle of the night an earthquake shook the building; the doors were thrown open and the chains of the inmates unloosed. There was much terror and confusion, but Paul kept his presence of mind. When he saw that the jailer was about to fall upon his sword, because he feared that the prisoners had escaped, Paul shouted, "Do thyself no harm for we are all here."

When the officer of the prison understood what had happened, he threw himself at the feet of Paul and Silas, asking that greatest of all questions, "What must I do to be saved?" Paul replied that it is not what man must or can do that brings salvation, but what Christ had done. "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved, thou and thy house." Whereupon they preached Christ unto him: and he believed and was baptized. This jailer had grasped, too, the central thought that after faith comes service; for he bathed the wounds of the Apostles and gave them food.

The story of what transpired in the morning shows the

spirit and the courage of the man Paul. The magistrate sent messengers who ordered that the Apostles should be released. Evidently second thoughts to them were best, and they judged, upon consideration, that they had acted rashly. But Paul refused to be thus ignominiously turned loose, saying to the jailer:

"They have beaten us publicly, uncondemned, men that are Romans, and have cast us into prison; and do they now cast us out privily? Nay verily; but let them come themselves and bring us out . . . and they came and besought them, and when they brought them out they asked them to go away from the city."

Luke records further that when the Apostles had met with the disciples in the home of Lydia they encouraged them and then departed. Thus was the church at Philippi established.

THESSALONICA AND BERŒA

Paul and Silas departed for Thessalonica or Salonica, as we know it to-day, and during the days of the Great War. Luke and Timothy seem to have remained behind in Philippi. Thessalonica was a large and influential commercial city with a synagogue and a considerable Jewish population. Into the synagogue went Paul and Silas on three successive Sabbaths and exhorted the people, preaching that Jesus was the Christ. They pointed out that in Scripture it was prophesied that the Messiah should suffer and die. Some of the Jews, a multitude of the Greeks, and "of the chief women not a few" were converted.

The account of Paul's work in Thessalonica, as narrated in Acts, is very meager; but more information has come down to us from the Apostle's letters to the church there. From these Epistles we infer that most of his converts came from the Greeks. Luke also refers to many "devout Greeks" as accepting the Gospel preached by Paul. This would seem to infer that they were Greeks who were Jewish proselytes. In Paul's "First Epistle to the Thessalonians" he speaks of the majority of the Christians there as those who had "turned

from idols." This would appear to mean that they were Gentile converts who had had no previous connection with Judaism.

Paul contrasts for us the treatment he received at Thessalonica with that which had been meted out to him in Philippi. In the former city, he met with open hospitality, a very cordial welcome and a hearty response. He indicates that his stay here, in Thessalonica, was much longer than we might infer from the short account in Acts. At considerable length he speaks of his manner of life in Thessalonica. Although he worked "night and day," he needed assistance from the church at Philippi. This was sent to him upon at least two occasions. In connection with this church we have our most enlightening picture of his methods of instruction, both public and private. He writes, "We dealt with each one of you, as a father with his own children, exhorting you and encouraging you, and testifying to the end that ye should walk worthily of God who called you into his own Kingdom and Glory." From this statement and the fact that he had accomplished so much of individual contact and instruction, we judge that the stay in Thessalonica was of considerable duration, not covering merely a period of three Sabbaths as we might infer from Acts.

Here, as in the first journey through the regions of southern Galatia, the Jews were the cause of trouble for Paul. Fearing for the safety of their religion, upon which Paul was making serious inroads, they stirred up the mob to violence. Thessalonica was a Roman city and the Jews had to seek for a political accusation against the Apostle. They impressed upon the mob that the preachers of Christ were revolutionary disturbers who had come to proclaim Jesus as King in the place of Cæsar. The turbulent crowd was led to the house of Jason, where Paul and Silas were staying, and where they were holding religious services after their expulsion from the synagogue. The Apostles, however, knowing the temper of the mob, had made good their escape and the rioters had to content themselves with the arrest of Jason. The host of the missionaries was brought before the magistrates and charged with harbouring the enemies of Cæsar.

He was released as soon as he had given bonds for his good behaviour. Paul, Silas and Timothy passed on to Berœa.

In this city the missionaries found the Jews more willing to hear their message. They were eager to search the Scriptures and to find in them a basis of fact for the Apostle's claims. Luke says, speaking of these Jews in Berœa, "Now these were more noble than those in Thessalonica in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, examining the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so." Such an attitude of mind on the part of the Jews must have been a great joy to Paul; but his joy and relief in their patience were short lived. The Jews from Thessalonica, hearing of Paul's success among their countrymen, came to Berœa and began stirring up the people. Luke does not inform us as to the accusations they brought against Paul. Whatever they were, it would appear that they were directed against him, alone. Accordingly, the Apostle went on to Athens and left Silas and Timothy in Berœa.

ATHENS

Some of the Apostle's new friends from Berœa accompanied him as far south as the ancient city of Athens. Here they left him and returned home, bearing a message from Paul to Silas and Timothy to join him in Athens. With what mingled feelings the great missionary must have entered this famous city, once the very centre of life and thought, now only a semblance of its former glory! Here was the most profuse idolatry, side by side with philosophical speculation. Luke informs us that Paul was distressed at the sight of so many idols; but heathen idols must have been a common sight to him. Every city of Greece was filled with them. It is natural to infer that Paul was not only acquainted with the history of Athens, but with the philosophy of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. A great deal has been written concerning the Apostle's education. There was a flourishing Greek Academy, as well as a famous University, in Tarsus, the city of his birth and early training. Whether he attended either, or what was the extent of his education in his native city, we have no information either from himself or others. We have

already pointed out that he must have gone to Jerusalem at an early age. His facility in the use of the Greek language, and we are informed that he did not use classical Greek, as well as his acquaintance with Hellenistic thought, may have come to him more from his travels than from actual study. His Epistles show rather the training of a Jewish Rabbi and the logic of a Pharisee than the philosophy of the Greek. He used Greek, wrote it, and spoke it, and doubtless read Greek authors. Indeed, on occasion, he quoted from Greek writings. His active mind would not remain ignorant of the philosophical speculations of his day.

Indeed, Paul could hardly be insensible to the glories, past and present, of this wonderful city. Here had been gathered together, within the walls of one city, more famous men than any other place has known before or since. The people had been and, to a less extent, were still intelligent and educated. Athens was still the metropolis of learning with only one real rival, Alexandria. She was also the centre of religions, with many temples and statues of the gods, of heroes and of scholars.

Left to himself, Paul seems to have wandered about the city, taking notice of all the objects of worship so conspicuous everywhere. He was jealous for the honour of the one true God and decided that though he had only made this city a stopping-place on his journey from Berœa to Corinth, he would make some attempt to preach the Gospel here, also. It would appear that he entered the synagogue, where he disputed with the Jews and the "devout Greeks." Here, as elsewhere throughout Macedonia, both Jews and Greeks listened favourably to his message of the Messiah and only objected when he came to the practical application of the Gospel in the admission of the Gentiles to the kingdom without the appendage of the Law. From the synagogue he went to the market or forum. In this place he reasoned with some of the philosophers, Stoics and Epicureans. When he spoke to them of Jesus and of the resurrection as the divine approval of His "oneness of essence" with the Father, they thought that he talked of two Gods, Jesus and Anastasis. Some of these philosophers were minded to call him a "seed

picker"; but others were interested in hearing him further, away from the crowd of the market-place. Accordingly, they conducted him to Mars' Hill, below the Acropolis, where religious discussions were heard.

This was the Apostle's opportunity. Around him were gathered the learned men of Athens who made the following request, "May we know what this new teaching is which is spoken by thee? For thou bringest certain strange things to our ears; we would know, therefore, what these things mean." Paul's speech in introduction to, and in defense of, his faith, is a model in the use of psychology in the approach to an audience. Wandering through the city he had seen an inscription "To the Unknown God." This inscription furnished him with the best introduction to this philosophical congregation. Standing in the Areopagus, he said:

"Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious. For as I passed by and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, 'To the Unknown God.' Whom, therefore, ye ignorantly worship, him I declare unto you. God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us: for in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, 'for we are also his offspring.' Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device. And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent: because he hath appointed a day, in which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead."

Paul was appealing to that deeper longing after God and the spiritual life which he felt was at the heart of Greek philosophy. The Greeks had long been searching for that God who dwells not in temples made with hands. But he did

not have the opportunity of finishing his address. Something happened to interrupt him. Many scoffed; some believed and others were anxious that the speech be resumed at some future occasion. There was no specific mention of Christ, but having proclaimed that God would judge the world, " by one whom he hath ordained," whose ordination was sealed by the fact that God raised Him from the dead, he doubtless desired to proceed and proclaim Jesus as this Christ of God. We have no further particulars from Luke beyond the fact that the speech of Paul was interrupted and the Apostle felt that to remain longer in Athens was only a waste of time. Accordingly, he set out for the city of Corinth.

CORINTH

Athens was the intellectual centre of Greece, but Corinth was its political and commercial capital. This cosmopolitan city had two harbours and was on the main trade and travel route from Rome, the capital city in the West, to Asia Minor, and Syria in the East. It was a place of living activity, such as the Apostle loved to visit. It will be recalled that he remained the longest in Antioch, Corinth and Ephesus. In great cities like these, men were continually coming and going and there was a larger opportunity for the spread of the Gospel through consecrated converts; there was also more breadth of vision and liberality of thought. In such cities, where the world's work was being done, the preacher would escape from the ignorance of narrow prejudice and bigotry on the one hand, from philosophical dilettanteism on the other. Here, as at Thessalonica, Paul chose to earn his own living at his trade of tent-making, or of carpet-weaving, as Luther would translate it. This work brought him into contact with two persons who became distinguished followers of Christ, Aquila and Priscilla, who were of inestimable value to Paul. They were Jews, lately come from Rome, whence they had been expelled by the edict of Claudius; they were of the same trade as the Apostle and he " abode with them and wrought." Living with these disciples and following his trade throughout the week, Paul entered the synagogue on the Sabbath day and preached.

Here, in Corinth, Paul was soon joined by Timothy and Silas. We are left in some uncertainty as to where these co-labourers of the Apostle had been at work during the intervening time since Paul had left them in Berœa. Acts 17, verses 15 and 16, informs us that when Paul reached Athens he desired his two friends to join him there with all speed. It is further reported by Luke that he waited for them there. On the other hand, it would appear that when Paul left Berœa he despatched Timothy to Thessalonica and Silas, perhaps, to Philippi. First Thessalonians 1: 2 says:

" When we could no longer forbear we thought it good to be left at Athens alone and send Timotheus, our brother, and minister of God, and our fellow-labourer in the Gospel of Christ, to establish you and to comfort you concerning your faith."

Timothy and Silas having fulfilled their missions, returned to Corinth, arriving there soon after Paul. Upon the report of the young messenger to Thessalonica, the Apostle wrote a letter to the Christians there. It would be a difficult task, in the midst of this account of Paul's missionary activities, to turn to some discussion of the letters which he wrote to his churches, though many of his Epistles belong to this period. First and second Thessalonians were written during this stay at Corinth; Galatians, Romans and the Corinthian letters were composed and despatched during the so-called third journey. Other letters, again, as Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians, Philemon and the Pastorals, belong to a still later period. The discussion of these writings will be left to special chapters on the letters of Paul.

Until the arrival of his assistants, Paul had been preaching in the synagogue of Corinth, but with little success. When they arrived, he was encouraged to announce, with more boldness, the coming of the Messiah of God. His experience at Pisidian Antioch was repeated here: for when the Jews would not listen to him he turned to the Gentiles. Luke reports that when they opposed his preaching, Paul renounced all responsibility in the matter in the following words, " Your

blood be upon your own heads; I am clean, and henceforth will go to the Gentiles."

From the synagogue, Paul turned to the house of a proselyte, named Justus. Many of the Greeks accepted the Gospel and were baptized, and at least one distinguished Jew, Crispus by name, a ruler of the synagogue, became a Christian and was baptized by the hand of Paul himself. The Apostle was greatly encouraged in this work. He encountered the usual envy and hatred of the Jews, but was upheld by two considerations. The first of these was that he had been the recipient of a vision in which the Master had made clear to him that this work was to be richly blessed. The Lord appeared to him by night and said, "Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace; for I am with thee and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee; for I have much people in this city." The other consideration had to do with the fact that Corinth was neither a colony, as was Philippi; nor yet a free city, such as Thessalonica. Corinth was a capital city, the seat of a government and of a pro-consul. The Jewish mob would not dare to attack Paul here. Thus he was left unmolested, as far as personal violence was concerned.

There remained, however, the possibility that the Apostle might be driven out of the city, as a disturber of the peace. Accordingly, he was brought before the Governor, Gallio, a brother of Seneca, and an uncle of the poet Lucan; but Gallio refused to become a judge of technical points in the Jewish religion. He dismissed the case with the following words, "If it be a question of words and names of your law, look ye to it; for I will be no judge of such matters." Having thus been relieved of the worry of open tumult, if not of active opposition, Paul remained at Corinth for many months.

Having at length established the church he set sail for Jerusalem, via Ephesus, to attend a feast in the Jewish capital. We read that before leaving Greece he cut off his hair at Cenchrea in fulfillment of a vow. We have no information from the historian as to the nature of this vow. Luke seems to include this verse to remind us of the fact that while Paul laboured mightily for the freedom of his converts, he, himself, followed the customs and traditions of his Jewish

forebears. On this journey he was accompanied as far as Ephesus by Aquila and Priscilla. Silas and Timothy drop out of the narrative and are mentioned no more save the notice that Timothy accompanied Paul later to Jerusalem.

Our knowledge of the Apostle's long stay in Corinth is surprisingly limited; but in his Epistles to the church there, especially in the first letter, Paul gives us a wealth of information. Indeed, I Corinthians presents the finest picture we possess of an early Gentile church. Concerning the Apostle's opinion of this congregation which he had established after some eighteen months of strenuous work, Professor Foakes-Jackson writes, "He implies that they had accepted the Gospel with more intelligence than sincerity. He feels that they are true Greeks, more gifted in mind than in heart, disposed to accept Christianity as an intellectual system rather than a spiritual power. We see from the first epistle how ready the Corinthians were to receive new ideas, and to range themselves under different religious leaders, forming factions in the same spirit as the older Greek states did politically. The letter goes on to illustrate the difficulty with which the converts abandoned the easy morals of Greek life for the severer standards the Apostle had set before them as demanded by Christ. He rebukes their love of superficial knowledge, their loquacity, their litigiousness, their lack of self-restraint. In every field of enterprise Paul seems to have found that this message was differently received, and in no place was the contrast more marked than when he passed from Macedonia to Achaia."

With Aquila and Priscilla, his new found friends in Corinth, and with Timothy, Silas and Titus, his tried and proven co-labourers, Paul set sail from the coasts of Achaia. Doubtless he desired to turn north to his beloved churches of Thessalonica and Philippi. He tells us that he longed to do so, but that something "hindered him" for the present. Many years were to elapse before another opportunity presented itself. The voyagers sailed through the lovely "Isles of Greece" and landed at the city of Ephesus, the capital of Asia. Here the Apostle remained but a few days. He preached in the synagogue upon the Sabbath day. The Jews

urged him to remain but Paul refused their present invitation, promising that he would return in the near future, if God so willed, saying to them, "I must, by all means, keep this feast." Leaving Aquila and Priscilla in Ephesus the three comrades set sail for Cæsarea.

The sacred historian is silent concerning Paul's visit to Jerusalem at this time. He contents himself with the mere mention of the fact that Paul saluted the church and then departed. Many scholars seem to be of the opinion that, perhaps by reason of delay in travel, the Apostle reached Cæsarea too late to attend the feast in Jerusalem, saluted the churches there, and proceeded northward. It hardly seems necessary to draw such inference. Doubtless Paul went on to Jerusalem, visited the Temple and offered the customary sacrifice in fulfillment of his vow. It seems most reasonable to assume that he would find time to acquaint his fellow Christians with all that he had accomplished for Christ in distant lands. Leaving Jerusalem he proceeded to Syrian Antioch. The second missionary journey had been completed.

IX

EPHESUS AND JERUSALEM

"All they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus."

PAUL did not remain long in Antioch. He might well have rested on the laurels he had already won; for he had borne "the burden and heat of the day." He, however, had no such thought in mind. He only came to Antioch to make preparations for further strenuous service. Before proceeding to a new field he revisited the churches in Galatia and Phrygia. Luke gives this period of Paul's life, which must have taken many months, very little attention, dismissing the matter with this short reference, "And after he had spent some time there [Antioch] he departed and went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples." Though Luke makes no mention of the fact it is altogether likely that the Apostle busied himself in all the churches over the matter of the collection for the poor in Jerusalem. Having collected the money, or having made arrangements that it be gathered together and forwarded to him, and having encouraged all the brethren, he and his companions set out over the great highway in the direction of Colosse. This was the region which formerly Paul had been "forbidden of the Holy Spirit" to visit. Their destination was the great city of Ephesus to which the Apostle had promised to return. It was, perhaps, on this visit to the churches, preliminary to the opening of a new work in Ephesus, that he found that condition prevailing which caused him, soon after his arrival at the capital of Asia, to write his impassioned defense of himself and his Gospel which is known to us as the Epistle to the Galatians.

Ephesus was the goal of the third missionary journey of the Apostle. This city held a commanding place in the

eastern Mediterranean world, having been called by Pliny one of the "Eyes of Asia"; Smyrna was the other. Ephesus held a position in Asia like that of Antioch in Syria and Cilicia, or Corinth in Achaia, or Rome in the western world. Here Greek not only met Greek, but Roman, Jew and Oriental, as well. The city itself was built where the rivers Hermus and Meander flow into the Ægean Sea. It was the seat of the government of a Roman pro-consul who lived and ruled in splendour. The crowning glory of the city was the magnificent temple of the Goddess Diana, considered one of the wonders of the world. Here in Ephesus Paul spent a longer period than in any other city and laid the foundation of a church which not only acted as a mother congregation to the surrounding community, but also held an extremely important place in the Christian world of the early centuries.

It was in the city of Ephesus that Paul encountered those twelve disciples whose instruction in Christian doctrine had been very incomplete. Apollos had been identified with them in Asia but by the time that Paul reached the city, he had departed for Corinth. Apollos had come to Ephesus from Alexandria. It would appear from the record that he and the twelve were disciples of John the Baptist, since they had been baptized with his baptism. The only knowledge they had of Jesus as Messiah they had learned from the preaching of John. This has led some scholars to believe that the teachings of the Baptist had spread as far as the Egyptian city before the days of Pentecost. There the doctrines of John, including what he had said of Jesus, had been promulgated from that day to this of which we write.

Apollos was educated in the university of Alexandria and was "mighty in the Scriptures." A man of great eloquence, he was doubtless preaching the baptism of repentance from sins, calling upon the people to turn to God. While Paul was absent in Antioch or visiting the churches of Galatia and Phrygia, Aquila and Priscilla had taken Apollos to their abode in Ephesus and had instructed him in the knowledge of Christ. Having received letters of commendation from them and from other Christians in Asia, he had set sail for Achaia and preached in Corinth. There he met with such

success that Paul, writing later to the Corinthian church, was able to say, "I have planted; Apollos watered." Unfortunately the Christians of Corinth were so stirred by this eloquent Alexandrian that they began to take sides, forming a Paul party and an Apollos party, among others. Paul was grieved at this spirit of contention and wrote to them as follows, "Who is Paul and who is Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believed? Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? Or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?"

When the Apostle arrived at Ephesus he encountered these twelve former companions of Apollos. They had remained behind in Asia when their leader had gone forward to Corinth. Paul inquired of them whether they had received the gift of the Holy Ghost upon confession of their faith in Christ. They replied that they had not even heard that there was a Holy Ghost. They reported that they had been baptized into the baptism of John. Paul pointed out to them that the baptism of John was only a baptism of repentance from sins; that John had directed his followers unto one, Jesus, who was to follow; that they should believe in Jesus and follow Him. Whereupon these followers of John were baptized by Paul and received the gift of the Holy Spirit by the laying on of the Apostle's hands. Immediately they showed themselves possessors of the manifestations of the Spirit by speaking with tongues and by prophesying. We have taken for granted that these twelve followers of the Baptist had come from Alexandria with Apollos. There is, however, no Scriptural warrant for this deduction. It is impossible to account for them and for their limited understanding of the Gospel. We do not know what was their exact belief concerning the character and work of Jesus. We are sure, however, that they lacked the full recognition of the Lordship of the living Christ, as well as of the Holy Spirit. The Pentecostal power was communicated to Apollos by Aquila and Priscilla and to these other followers of John by Paul, himself.

In Ephesus Paul doubtless took up his residence with Aquila and Priscilla and supported himself at his trade of tent-making. At any rate, he informs the Corinthians that

while residing in the city of Ephesus he earned his bread by the "labour of his own hands." Later, addressing the Ephesian elders at Miletus, speaking of his manner of life in their city, extending to them his hands he said, "Ye, yourselves, know that these have ministered to my necessities." We are informed that for the space of three months he taught in the synagogue; but the enmity of his brethren again forced him to give up this work. He withdrew his converts and for more than two years he taught in the school of Tyrannus. In Acts 20: 31 the Apostle informs us that he spent altogether three years in the city.

It is here in Ephesus that we see Paul's missionary methods at their best. In a former chapter we have noted his general plan of campaign. He chose certain great and strategic centres which should act as radiating points for the spread of the Gospel. He thought in terms of the province rather than of the city. Consequently, when he had preached in Ephesus he could say that he had preached in all Asia, for his influence would extend to its farthest bounds. This would be accomplished in two ways. In the first place, people came from all parts of the province to the great provincial centre for purposes of business, as well as, in this case, to worship in the temple of Diana. Many of them would come under the influence of the Apostle's teaching and, returning home, they would take with them the words of Jesus. Again, many of Paul's converts in the city would be imbued with his own great missionary zeal. These would take the Gospel to the remotest parts of the province. Take the city of Colosse for example. So far as we know, the Apostle was never there until after his arrest in Rome, unless he passed through on his journey from Antioch to Ephesus. Yet Philemon, one of Paul's converts, was a native of Colosse and Epaphras, also a convert of the Apostle, was the founder of the church there.

In Acts 19: 10 Luke says, "All they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks." By this word of Luke we see how far the Apostle's influence had gone from the great city. This also proves that his stay in Ephesus must have been long and uninterrupted. In

I Corinthians, written after he had been considerable time in Ephesus, and, perhaps, not long before his departure, Paul sends salutations from the churches in Asia. Since he, himself, preached only in the city of Ephesus, and since he was, so far as we know, the first to preach the Gospel in Asia, we get some idea of the rapidity with which he made his influence felt, as well as of the thoroughness with which the work was done.

We leave the remarkable story of the practice of magic in the city of Ephesus to a later chapter on Paul's use of miracles. The circumstances of the writing of I Corinthians, together with some account of its contents, will be briefly told in the chapter on the early Pauline letters. We have no further record of the Apostle's work in Ephesus except that which has to do with the great tumult described in Acts 19: 24–41. Here Luke records the success which Paul achieved in turning away the people from gods made with hands. It would appear that the silversmiths had worked up a lucrative trade in the manufacture and sale of models of the shrine of the Goddess Diana. The success of Paul in Ephesus and in the province was interfering seriously with the market for these baubles. During the month of May there was held in the city a yearly festival in honour of the Goddess. The city was thronged with visitors from outlying parts. The festival was spread out over the entire month which was called Artemisius, or the month of Diana. The crowds in the city attended the performances in the theatre, the horse racing in the Hippodrome and the wrestling and fighting with beasts in the stadium. There were also fancy dress carnivals where mock gods and goddesses, Jupiter, Apollo and Mercury, besides many others, paraded the streets in costume. The crowds visited the shops and bazaars in the market-place and bought souvenirs of their visit to the metropolis. The trade was not as flourishing as in former years and the blame was placed on Paul and his associates. The Apostle had evidently been preaching to the Ephesians, as formerly he had done to the men of Athens, that "the Godhead was not like to wood or stone or brass, graven with man's device," and with more effect.

One of the silversmiths, Demetrius by name, a large employer of labour, whose trade was suffering greatly, gathered together a mob of "rude men of the baser sort," members of his own guild, and urged them on against the Christians who were "causing the great Goddess Diana to be despised and her magnificence destroyed." By shouts of "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," they worked upon the feelings of the mob. Gathering a crowd of large proportions, and dragging with them Gaius and Aristarchus, two of the companions of Paul, they rushed to the theatre where public meetings were held. They would have dragged Paul along also but could not lay their hands upon him. Shouting out the danger to the great Goddess they so roused the people that the theatre was filled with a howling mob. Demetrius and his fellow conspirators soon lost control of the situation. Some cried out one thing and some another, so that many in the crowded theatre did not know what it was all about. Paul heard the tumult and would have rushed to defend himself and his companions had he not been restrained from so doing.

It would appear that in the confusion the Jews were connected with the danger that threatened Diana. This was a natural inference on the part of the crowd, seeing that Paul was a Jew. A certain Jew by the name of Alexander arose to defend his compatriots. His appearance only increased the anger of the mob because the Jews were hated. For two hours the theatre rang with the babel of voices, the general tenor of which seemed to be loyalty to the Goddess. The secretary of the city, a man of great authority, finally persuaded the mob to listen to reason. He addressed them, pointing out that Diana was in no real danger; that the Christians had committed no crime for which they could be charged in the courts. If, he continued, Demetrius and his guild felt that a wrong had been done them, they had opportunity to bring the matter before the courts in the regular way. His last point, and perhaps the decisive one in restoring order, was that the present situation would bring discredit on the city. The mob finally dispersed and order was restored.

Paul's work in Ephesus was finished; but we cannot leave

it without some comment upon its main features. We have already referred to the fact that he worked with his own hands. Not only did he thus provide for his own needs but he contributed also to others less fortunate than himself. He tells us that he visited from house to house. This may have been a regular feature of his missionary program in other cities, but if so we are not thus informed. This does not refer to the regular work of pastoral visitation but to evangelistic work, work of preachng in the homes of Jews and Gentiles alike. We cannot but marvel at the labours of this man, working by day, preaching at night, visiting from house to house, carrying forward a work which in the space of three years was felt not only throughout the city of Ephesus but the whole province of Asia as well.

This was surely more than the stoutest heart and the strongest frame could endure. When we add to this the fact that he endured many hardships and was constantly in personal danger, our wonder turns to amazement. Once, he intimates, he fought with beasts. Since he was a Roman citizen and could not on this account be thrown to the wild animals, we must assume that he refers to some attack upon his person, from which he escaped with his life, but only with the greatest difficulty. Again, he refers to a situation so dangerous that his escape could only be attributed to the intervention of God. He does not inform us from what quarter either of these attacks came. He says, further, that he was in daily peril of his life and that he had many adversaries. If Paul accomplished a great missionary work in Ephesus his sufferings were commensurate with his success.

Paul left Ephesus to visit Macedonia and Achaia. Thence he planned to go to Jerusalem. Luke tells us that the Apostle's plans beyond the visit to Jerusalem called for a journey to Rome and Spain. In his letter to the Romans, 1:13, 14, 22 and 23, Paul informed the Christians there of his proposed visit, saying that he had longed for years to come unto them. Meanwhile he sent Timothy and Erastus forward to Macedonia to make arrangements for the collection there. Similar plans had already been made in Achaia and Galatia. Titus had gone on a mission to Corinth and

Paul waited for him in Troas. When he did not appear the Apostle crossed over into Macedonia where Titus at length joined him. The latter brought good news concerning affairs in Corinth and Paul thereupon wrote and despatched the second letter to the Corinthian church.

This present journey through Macedonia and Achaia was for the twofold purpose of encouraging the churches and for gathering up the collection which had been taken for the poor in Jerusalem. James had laid this matter upon the heart of Paul. The latter felt that it was just and right that the Gentiles should make some contribution to the Jews from whom they had received the Gospel. He hoped that thereby the Gentiles might not only prove their sincerity and the genuineness of their faith in Christ; but he hoped, also, that the bitterness and hatred of his enemies, with its consequent active opposition, might by this means be somewhat abated if not entirely eliminated. It was the plan of the Apostle to gather up the collection from Macedonia and Achaia, then to journey to Asia Minor where he hoped at some designated point to meet with those bearing the offerings of the people of Galatia and Phrygia. With the collection from Ephesus the whole contribution would be carried to Jerusalem by Paul and certain others who might be appointed and designated for the purpose. Thus the whole Gentile church would unite in this charitable and worthy scheme. We are not informed as to the amount contributed, but from the fact that the whole church took part, and, since Paul informs us that the Macedonian congregations gave beyond their powers, the offering must have been a large one. Seven men were appointed to be the bearers of these gifts.

After the return of Titus with good news, and after the despatch of II Corinthians, Paul turned to the task of revisiting the churches of Macedonia. It had been many weary years since he had been with his beloved disciples in Philippi and Thessalonica. His pleasure at seeing them again would be tinged with sadness, the sadness of a farewell; for the Apostle had his mind upon the West and the virgin field of Spain. From Macedonia he proceeded into Greece where he spent three months, mostly in Corinth. While here he lodged

in the home of Gaius, where he wrote the Epistle to the Romans. He was busy, doubtless, in harmonizing the different factions in the capital of Greece and in putting the Christian house in order. The old enmity of the Jews was once more in evidence. Paul discovered a plot to take his life while on board ship from Corinth to the coast of Asia. Accordingly he changed his plans and passed northward by land to Philippi. The bearers of the collection were sent on by boat to Troas, with orders to wait there for the coming of the Apostle. At Philippi Luke again took up the "we" narrative, writing, "From Philippi we sailed away after the days of unleavened bread and came unto them in Troas in five days, where we abode seven days."

It was in Troas that the young man, Eutychus, went to sleep while listening to a long sermon by the Apostle. It was on the night of the day preceding Paul's departure, the first day of the week. Midnight found the congregation still listening patiently to the exhortation of the preacher. Many lights, burning long in the upper chamber, made the air oppressive. The youth was sitting in an open window and, leaning forward in his sleep, he fell to the court below. He was taken up for dead, but the Apostle, rushing down-stairs, found that he had not passed away. Returning to the upper room, Paul presided at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, partook of a meal and conversed until the break of day.

Those in charge of the collection sailed from Troas to Assos, but Paul took the land route. At Assos he boarded the ship and set sail for Miletus. He did not go on to Ephesus because he was anxious to reach Jerusalem in time for Pentecost. The Ephesian elders came to Miletus to meet Paul and he addressed them there in words which have been preserved to us by Luke in Acts 20: 18–35. This speech, quoted by Luke who was personally present when it was delivered, throws considerable light on Paul's evangelistic methods. In large part the address is an appeal to their knowledge of his life and work. Paul referred to his earnest efforts in their city and to the dangers he encountered daily. He informed them that in the several cities which he had visited thus far on his journey to

Jerusalem, he had received inspired warnings that bonds and imprisonment were to be his portion in the Holy City. The character and courage of Paul are shown in the fact that personal dangers would not move him to give up his purpose. He was doubtless open to conviction by argument, but not by threat of personal harm. His one aim was to fulfill this ministry which he believed God had laid upon him, and from which he hoped for such good results. Paul then entreated the elders to follow his example. Luke concludes the narrative with these moving words, " And when he had thus spoken he kneeled down and prayed with them all; and they all wept sore and fell on Paul's neck and kissed him, sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more, and they accompanied him to the ship."

The journey took them from Miletus past Rhodes to Patara. From this point they went by another ship to Tyre. Here Paul spent seven days and was again warned not to go to Jerusalem. From Tyre the party sailed to Ptolemais; and after one day's rest they proceeded to Cæsarea by land. Here they were entertained by Philip the Evangelist. Having made better time than they anticipated they spent many days in Cæsarea. Agabus arrived from Jerusalem and personally informed Paul of his danger. The companions of the Apostle joined with the Christians of Cæsarea in a final effort to dissuade him from his contemplated visit to the city; but Paul replied, " What mean ye to weep and break mine heart? For I am ready not to be bound only but also to die at Jerusalem, for the name of the Lord Jesus." When they saw that he would not be persuaded to give up this visit they ceased urging him, saying, " The will of the Lord be done." Thus Paul came to Jerusalem on his fifth visit as a Christian missionary.

X

PAUL IN PRISON

"Neither can they prove the things whereof they now accuse me."

LUKE informs us in Acts 21: 17 that Paul and his companions were well received by the Fathers in Jerusalem, but he has nothing further to say regarding the collection. The Apostle had spent much time and energy over this matter and had had high hopes that it might go far in removing the enmity against which he and his churches had struggled so long. Apparently the collection was forgotten by the historian in the wild rush of events which followed in Jerusalem. It may fairly be assumed, however, in view of what transpired, and in consideration of the fact that in all Paul's difficulties in Jerusalem and in Cæsarea, no mention is made of any effort on the part of the Christians there to aid him, that all his hopes of obtaining the good will of the Jerusalem Christians had been in vain.

On the day following their arrival in the city, Paul and his companions had an interview with James and the elders of the Jerusalem church. At this conference Paul gave an account of what he had accomplished in different places. It was evident that the suspicion prevailing against him was not confined to the Jews who were unbelievers in Christ, but that many within the church were also his enemies. Luke reports one member of the mother congregation as saying to Paul:

"Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe; and they are all zealous of the law: and they are informed of thee that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs."

This report was untrue and, it would appear from Luke's record, the elders were well aware of that fact. Paul had scrupulously kept the agreement of the Council of Jerusalem. In all his ministry he had never attempted to keep the Jews from the exercise of their religious customs. His contention was that the observance of these laws and ceremonies would not, *ipso facto,* bring salvation. He only desired that the Gentiles be not forced to become Jews. The latter might please themselves as to whether they would, or would not, keep the Law. This report was entirely unfounded.

In view of these damaging rumours, frought with danger to the Apostle's life, the Fathers proposed that he set himself right in the eyes of the Jewish world by an act of homage to the Law, publicly performed. There were four men present in the city who were under a Nazaritish vow (Numbers 6: 13–21). This vow entailed a considerable expense in the matter of offerings. Paul was asked to undertake the purification along with the others and to underwrite the finances. To pay the expense of the vows of others was considered a very pious act. Paul willingly entertained the proposal and gladly accepted it.

The account in Numbers states the regulations prescribed for this vow, which was in reality a public testimony of dedication to God; but it lays down no rule as to the length of its duration. The Talmud and Josephus state that the usual period was thirty days. During this time the Nazarite refrained from wine and let his hair grow long. When the time had expired, he appeared in the Temple with expensive offerings—which were at least beyond the purse of a poor man—and had his hair cut and burned upon the altar. Paul had made himself responsible for the expense of the offerings, as we have seen, and, on the following day, he performed the required ceremony of purification, identifying himself with the Nazarites. He entered the Temple and announced to the priests that the offerings had been arranged for and that the vow would be terminated. This process required seven days for completion.

Doubtless Paul hoped that by complying with this ceremonial he would placate those who believed that he had been

preaching against the worship of the Jews. As far as the Christians in Jerusalem were concerned he probably succeeded. Unfortunately for Paul the city was filled with religious fanatics from many places. When the seven days were almost ended, certain Jews from Asia, probably from Ephesus since they recognized both Paul and Trophinus, when they saw the Apostle in the Temple, raised an outcry and rushed at him, crying out, " Men of Israel, help: this is the man that teachest all men everywhere against the people and the Law and this place; and further brought Greeks also into the Temple and hath polluted this holy place." This second charge, like the other to which we have already referred, was wholly untrue. These Asians, having seen Trophinus in the city, had jumped to the conclusion that Paul had brought him into the Temple. Had he committed so rash an act, he would not only himself have been " guilty of death," but he would also have condemned his co-labourer to the same fate: for the Law held that the sentence of death should be pronounced upon any Gentile who entered the court of the Jews.

The mob in the Temple was not difficult to arouse. No doubt they welcomed the opportunity of attacking Paul whom they hated. They dragged him forth into the court of the Gentiles and, having closed the doors of the Jewish court, they were about to mete out to the Apostle the same death which he had been instrumental in bringing upon Stephen. Fortunately the Roman guard, quartered in the tower of the Temple, rushed upon the scene under their captain, Claudius Lysias. Paul's life was spared but he was still in grave danger. He was chained to two soldiers and led away. The captain was of the opinion that he had captured the leader of an insurrection recently held in the city. Felix, the procurator, had suppressed it in bloody fashion, killing some four hundred of the Jews, but the leader, an Egyptian, had escaped. Paul was led away toward the tower.

The Apostle asked leave to address the crowd from the tower steps. When he proved to the satisfaction of Lysias that he was not " that Egyptian," permission was granted. It was a strange and bold request. The story is graphically

told by Luke in Acts 21: 34–40, and Paul's speech is given in chapter 22. It was no small task to quiet a howling mob that was thirsting for his blood; but Paul succeeded in doing it. He spoke in Aramaic, the popular language of the Jews, and attempted to defend his attitude toward the Law. Beginning with an account of his life, the outlines of which are familiar to us, he went on to the days of his persecution of the Christians. He told of his conversion while journeying to Damascus. Rapidly he carried forward the story as far as his commission to preach to the Gentiles.

It is interesting to note that there are special features in this speech. Paul's anxiety to place his own attitude to the Law fairly before his opponents is quite apparent. It was doubtless his purpose to show that he was a good Jew, that he had always adhered to the Law and that he had never preached against his own people. He referred in detail to his Jewish education and called upon the high priest and the elders to witness to his former zeal for the Law. In speaking of the part which Ananias had played in his conversion, Paul is careful to inform his audience that Ananias was "a devout man according to the law, having a good report of all the Jews which dwelt there." Further, he declared, this good man's pronunciation was made in the name of Jehovah, the God of Israel, in these very words, "The God of our fathers hath chosen thee that thou shouldst know his will and see the Righteous One, and hear a voice out of his mouth." Paul included another revelation also. He narrated how that he had come from Damascus to the Temple. As he was praying there he fell into a trance and was commanded of the Lord to depart. The inference seems to be that Paul's own desire was to remain in Jerusalem and witness there for Christ. The fact that the city knew of his former persecution of the Christians would make his testimony more impressive and irresistible. But God said, "Depart, for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles."

It seems very probable from the tenor of his speech thus far that he desired to tell of his work beyond the borders of Palestine, showing that he had never interfered with the adherence of the Jews to their customs, but had insisted only

that the Gentiles accept Christ without first becoming Jews. He was not allowed to proceed. The mention of the Gentiles was the signal for another outburst on the part of his enemies. They shouted, "Away with such a fellow from the earth." They showed their disgust further by throwing dust into the air. Paul was removed into the tower and the captain ordered that he be scourged. This was the Roman method of the "third degree," and they were past masters in the art of torture—if torture may be called an art. The purpose was to break down the will of the prisoner and make him confess his crimes. The captain had not understood Paul's speech and therefore he did not know that the point at issue between his captive and the Jews was one of religious belief. Paul invoked the power of his Roman citizenship to save himself from this indignity and the scourging did not take place.

Claudius Lysias was surprised and chagrined to find that not only was his prisoner a Roman citizen, but one with a much better title than his own. The former had attained to this high dignity by purchase, but Paul was free born. It was part of a Roman official's duty to protect a citizen of the Empire and to suppress rioting; it was also expected that he would show some deference to the religious customs of the country. On the day following, having freed Paul from bonds while still holding him as a prisoner, Lysias brought him before a meeting of the Jewish Sanhedrin. This method of procedure was an experiment to see if some amicable settlement might not be reached; just a courteous gesture with the hope that something might come of it. The captain had no power to call a meeting of the Council, nor would he leave a Roman citizen to its tender mercies. The experiment not only ended in failure but in confusion as well.

Once more Paul was given the privilege of speaking in his own defense. He began by proclaiming that he had lived all his life in good conscience before God. Since that was tantamount to saying that he had taken his course with very good reasons, the high priest, Ananias, commanded that those who stood near should smite him in the mouth. With great fearlessness and indignation Paul cried out, "God shall smite

thee, thou whited wall: for sittest thou to judge me after the law and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?"

It is almost inevitable that the conduct of the disciple should be viewed by comparison with that of his Master under similar circumstances. Jesus referred to the Pharisees as whited sepulchres, a term very similar to that of whited wall, and bearing the very same stigma; but Jesus attacked them for wrongs that they had done to others, not to Himself. During His trial one of the officers struck Him in the face. Jesus replied with dignity, "If I have spoken evil bear witness of the evil; but, if well, why smitest thou me?" Under similar conditions but with less provocation, for the threatened blow did not fall, Paul flamed with indignation. He freely admitted his wrong-doing, but pleaded ignorance of the identity of the high priest. Various apologies have been offered for his attitude and explanation. One holds that his eyesight was impaired; another that the historian has misrepresented the situation, though not intentionally, he hastens to add. A third suggests that since the high priest did not always preside at the meetings of the Sanhedrin Paul had no means of knowing that it was he that spoke. Possibly he did not. Indeed, he says that he did not. We should not take his words as an apology over a sudden outburst of passion. There are circumstances where righteous indignation is justifiable and this would appear to have been one; but Paul was willing to regret that he had thus spoken to the high priest, whose person, by reason of what he represented, should be reverenced. Still, Ananias richly deserved what he received; but that does not justify the action of Paul whose words here were just a little below the high level of his thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians. Paul would hardly have been a human preacher if his actions did not occasionally fall below the standard of his preaching.

It is not so easy to defend him for what followed, though he has not lacked defenders. Perceiving that the Sanhedrin was composed of Pharisees and Sadducees, he proceeded to divide them, the one against the other, on a matter of doctrine. "Men and brethren," he cried, "I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee, concerning the hope and resurrection of

the dead I am called in question." Now, Paul had not been called in question concerning his belief for or against the resurrection. He was in his present position because the Jews, both Pharisees and Sadducees, believed that he was the active enemy of their faith. No amount of sophistry could turn the accusation into anything else. Even if Paul was adhering strictly to the truth, his conduct would still be open to question in stirring up a spirit of party division to obtain some personal relief. When the whole matter is calmly considered in the light of that Gospel which Paul preached, and which he tried to illustrate by means of a life, especially when we consider it in the white light of the life of Christ, we must conclude that the great missionary fell somewhat short of that high standard of conduct which has made him the marvel of the ages.

If this action on the part of Paul were an attempt at expediency he almost paid for it with his life. The net result was that his words released a conflagration of party spirit in which Paul was almost consumed. It looked for a while as if the end of Paul's career had come; but he was saved by the soldiers who took him back to the tower. On the morrow a conspiracy of the Jews was formed. More than forty men bound themselves under a solemn oath neither to eat nor drink until they had taken Paul's life. The conspirators called upon the members of the Sanhedrin for their help. The plan was for another meeting of the Council with the consent of the Roman captain to Paul's appearance. On the way to the meeting the Apostle was to be killed from ambush. A secret entrusted to so large a company in a city seething with hatred against one man, was bound to come to light. A nephew of the Apostle, his sister's son, carried the news to Paul and to Claudius Lysias. The result was that the Roman captain determined to remove his prisoner to Cæsarea for safe-keeping. Luke informs us that Paul received assurance that all the plots against his life would prove abortive. In the night he had a vision of the Lord standing beside him and saying unto him, "Be of good cheer, Paul; for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem so must thou bear witness also at Rome."

Lysias determined that in this instance a strong guard would be necessary to insure the safe conduct of his prisoner. Accordingly he sent an escort of four hundred infantry and seventy cavalry. At Antipatris, the infantry left the cavalcade and returned to Jerusalem, while the mounted men conveyed Paul the rest of the way to the capital. Along with his prisoner, Lysias forwarded a letter to his superior, Felix, in which he stated his reasons for the action he had taken, announcing, further, that Paul's accusers would follow in person. Felix placed the Apostle in prison in Cæsarea to await the arrival of his enemies.

Tacitus and Josephus, historians of the period, do not give Felix, the Roman procurator, a very high recommendation. In his history, verse 9, the former says, "*Per omnem salvatiam ac libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit.*" Certainly this would appear, at least in part, to be a true estimate as we read the story in Acts. Felix had been once a slave. Now raised to great honours, he was bloody and cruel and was intensely hated by the Jews. To this man, Roman procurator, living in the palace of Herod in Cæsarea, came Paul's Jewish accusers after the lapse of five days. They pressed their charges against the Apostle by saying that he was a pestilent fellow who was constantly stirring up trouble among the Jews all over the world. He was the leader of the sect of the Nazarenes, they claimed, and as a crowning offense he had profaned the Temple.

In his defense, Paul informed Felix that he had only come to Jerusalem twelve days before, and that he had come up to worship in the Temple. He indignantly denied that he had stirred up trouble. He admitted that his religious beliefs were different from those of his accusers, though built upon the same foundation of the Law and the prophets. Paul contended that he had shown his loyalty to the faith of his fathers by coming to Jerusalem bearing alms. While there he had undertaken the ceremony of purification in the Temple.

Felix seemed to be satisfied that the account given by Paul was a true one. However, he put off a decision and gave orders that the prisoner should be held but treated with kind-

ness, and that his friends should have access to him at all times. Later, Felix gave Paul a second hearing; but when the Apostle took this opportunity to preach the Gospel instead of to defend himself, Felix ended the conference. In the days following, the procurator, as delicately as he could, gave Paul to understand that a bribe would accomplish his release. Felix, too, like Cassius, had an "itching palm." Paul refused to avail himself of this method of escape. It will be recalled that in Philippi, when the Apostle had been illegally imprisoned, and, when the authorities, recognizing that they had made a mistake, desired that he be released privately and sent out of the city, Paul refused and demanded that the authorities come themselves and set him free. Here, also, he determined that he must be released by the due processes of the law. So Paul remained "in durance vile" and when, at length, Felix gave way to Festus, Paul was handed over to the latter as an untried prisoner.

Felix, according to the historian Josephus, was appointed procurator by the Emperor Claudius in the twelfth year of his reign, 52 A. D. He was succeeded in office by Festus who was appointed during Nero's régime, some time between 58 and 60 A. D. In the records of the historians of the period the latter procurator bears a better character than the former. Almost immediately after assuming office, Festus paid a visit to Jerusalem, the chief city in his province. The implacable hatred of the Jews toward Paul is seen in the fact that they at once importuned the new Governor to bring his prisoner to Jerusalem for trial. It is doubtful if they had any real expectation of having him condemned to death; but they thought that their former plan of assassination might be carried out. This could be successfully accomplished, they thought, while the prisoner was en route from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. Festus put forth the counter proposal that the Jews come to Cæsarea as soon as he had returned thither. No doubt the new procurator would have gone a considerable distance to placate the chief men of Jerusalem. Indeed, his actions later proved this very fact. But Paul was a Roman citizen; Cæsarea was the official residence of the Governor and was, without doubt, the proper place to hold the trial.

While he may have had little knowledge concerning Paul and the accusations brought against him, he was clever enough to see from the tone of the accusers, especially since he must have known something of their religious fanaticism, that Paul would have little chance of a fair trial in Jerusalem.

The Jews accepted the suggestion of Festus and the trial seems to have taken place soon after his return to Cæsarea. The enemies of Paul came up from Jerusalem and, whereas on the former occasion they had hired an attorney to plead their cause, this time they handled the case themselves. Paul's reply to the accusations brought against him would seem to imply that his enemies had added a political complexion to the trial. Paul declared that he had not been guilty of sin against the Jewish Law, the Temple or Cæsar. It would appear that some charge of sedition against the Emperor had been laid. At the trial of Jesus the Jews had been guilty of the same deception. We need not be surprised if, in the case of Paul also, they had thus attempted to get the ear of Cæsar's representative.

Festus was well aware that the evidence against Paul was weak. Later he complained to Agrippa that he had no worthwhile charge upon which to transfer Paul to the higher courts. He should have set his prisoner at liberty when he found the evidence against him unsatisfactory; but he was anxious to please the Jews, however, and so withheld judgment. Festus had come to see that the opposition to Paul was very strong and he began to hesitate. Willing to placate the Apostle's enemies, he asked whether Paul would consent to go to Jerusalem for trial. That which he had before refused he was now willing to undertake.

This left only one course open to Paul. To go to Jerusalem, he believed, meant death. Accordingly he declared that it was illegal to transfer his case from the Roman court to the Sanhedrin, since it was not proven that he had wronged the Jews. Therefore he appealed unto Cæsar. Festus conferred with his advisers and, having been convinced that Paul was well within his rights as a Roman citizen, transferred the case to the courts at Rome.

XI

THE ORGANIZATION OF A PAULINE CHURCH

" They went both together into the synagogue of the Jews."

WE have paid a flying visit with the Apostle Paul to many great cities in the eastern Mediterranean world. As we read the account in Acts we are in danger of viewing his work as something of a " Cook's " tour from city to city. Luke informs us of a few outstanding events that transpired; of personal dangers to the Apostle as he went about his work. He speaks of cities visited and churches established; but he has very little to say about the internal organization of those congregations. Fortunately we have other sources of information. Paul wrote many letters to the churches which he had founded. Some of these Epistles have found their way into the New Testament and have come down to us. They are in no sense of the word a history of events in any particular church or churches. Paul was not a historian. His life was far too busy to write the story of the churches he established. There were problems to solve upon the field, directions to be given; so the Apostle must write to correct abuses, as he tries to do in the Corinthian letters; or to passionately defend the Gospel he preached, as in the Galatian letter; or to instruct and encourage the young preachers he left upon the field, as in the letters to Timothy and Titus. By reason of the fact that he must discuss practical problems of the church he often gives us an insight into its life and organization. Especially is this true of his first letter to the church at Corinth. This letter proves to be a mine of information concerning the internal workings of a typical Pauline congregation.

In his " Life of St. Paul," Dr. James Stalker says of this first Epistle to the Corinthians, that it

" may be said to transport us on a magician's mantle back over two thousand years and stationing us in mid-air above a great Greek city, in which there was a Christian church, to take the roof off the meeting-house of the Christians and permit us to see what was going on."

Looking back over this long period of almost nineteen hundred years, in imagination we can see Paul and his companions entering some city of the Roman world. It might be Derbe, or Philippi, or Corinth, or Antioch. The events and the surroundings would be substantially the same. He is accompanied by Barnabas or Luke or Timothy or Titus. His coming created no stir or change in the life of the city. He was only another travelling preacher. In the eyes of the people of his day Paul would be merely one of many wandering enthusiasts who were engaged in the work of propagating their faith. The eastern world had many gods and every god had his travelling propagandists. It was the age when eastern religious cults were moving to the West and finding root in a new soil.

In any city into which he might come, Paul and his companions would be met with complete indifference, except upon the part of the idle few. He was, after all, only an obscure Jew, a wandering preacher who was anxious to thrust his opinions down the throats of an indifferent and blasé community. He had no rank, fortune or following. Such casual reception would be the one to which Paul was long accustomed, except in the occasional city where hostility to him had been engendered even before his inauspicious arrival. We find difficulty in drawing any clear line of demarkation between Paul the great man who was " turning the world upside down," and Paul the travelling preacher who was only another religious fanatic in the eyes of the people. To us he is the greatest figure of human history, whose influence through the ages has been incalculable. We find difficulty in thinking back to the days when he was only an unknown wandering preacher making his advent into a strange city.

Let us enter an eastern city with this humble missionary of the cross, unheralded and unknown. His first care would be

to secure a lodging and means of employment. It was necessary for Paul to earn his own living by the sweat of his brow. The son of a Pharisee was taught a trade. Paul was a tent-maker. Barnabas, the companion of his earlier travels, may also have had skill with his hands in some kind of industry. He was born and brought up in Cyprus, of well-to-do and prosperous people, a landed proprietor. He was converted at Pentecost and was the first in the early Church to sell his property and place his funds at the disposal of the whole body. He, like Paul, had no money of his own, and doubtless earned his bread by working with his hands. Family and position had little to do with the traditional training of the children of the Pharisees.

When the Sabbath day arrived, Paul and his companions would find their way to the Jewish synagogue. They would join with their brethren in the common worship, the reading of the Law and the Prophets, the prayers. When the Rabbi asked the visitors if they had any word of exhortation for the congregation, that would be Paul's opportunity to proclaim Christ. Luke insists that Paul carried on his work according to this general plan. There seems no reason to doubt that in every case he began with the synagogue where this was possible. His natural appeal was to the Jew first; he was a Jew and had access to the Jewish meeting place. There was the further fact that the children of Abraham had that background of belief and hope which made a natural beginning for Christianity.

Perhaps it will make the matter clearer if we discuss briefly the different classes of Jews in Paul's day. First of all there were the Palestinian Jews with Jerusalem still as their religious capital. They were passionately loyal to the laws and traditions of the Fathers and were under the direct influence of the priests. The Scribes and Pharisees controlled the religious world of the day of Jesus and Paul. Besides these Jews of the homeland there were the Jews of the dispersion. For many generations families of Jews had been living in the cities of the Mediterranean world. These Jews were more or less world citizens, speaking Greek, and loyal to the land of their adoption. In matters of religion they

lived in strict obedience to the laws of Moses. Paul, himself, belonged to this class.

Many of these Hellenistic Jews, however, were more liberal in their tendencies. They had absorbed much of Greek literature, art and philosophy. They were still loyal to the God of their fathers but they did not hold to the Jewish law with such strict obedience. Some of them, especially the Jews in Alexandria, had renounced circumcision and the observance of the festivals.

Again, there were Gentiles who had been converted to Judaism. These were called proselytes. They lived under the covenant of circumcision. They came to Jerusalem, as often as their circumstances would permit, to observe the Jewish feasts. Besides these proselytes there were many other Gentiles who, while not actually under the Jewish system of law, admired its pure monotheism and its higher moral life. These were the soil from which the proselytes came.

When Paul had made his beginning in the synagogue, he soon found that to the Jews, Jesus and the cross were a stumbling block. He was never able to continue long in the meeting place of those of his race. This general method produced results that were at the same time beneficial and harmful. The Apostle encountered not only violence against himself as preacher, but the same aggressive spirit of hatred was directed against his converts also. This raised the whole question of Paul's authority and his right to preach at all. Further antagonism resulted which, as we have already seen, caused Paul and his churches a great deal of harm. The whole difficulty might have been avoided—at least he would have suffered less—had he turned to the Greek as he was later forced to do.

At the same time it should be remembered that he did make some converts in the synagogue. These men and women, with their background of faith in God, with their moral strength, both Jews and Greeks who looked to Judaism, were the nucleus of a successful church. They possessed the moral fibre out of which Christians could be made. These Jews and Jewish proselytes were of inestimable value to the Apostle. We can very easily overestimate their numbers.

Many times in his Epistles Paul speaks as if the majority of his converts had been idolaters. All we can say with certainty is that this method of approach assured Paul that eventually he would have a little group in all his churches who were familiar with the religion and worship of the Old Testament, and with the moral teaching of the Prophets.

Having been driven from the synagogue by the fury of the Jews, Paul preached in the home of some convert, if such were available; failing that he made use of the hall of some philosophical lecturer. We are often informed in Acts and in the Epistles just where the Apostle lodged and where he preached. At Philippi he stayed in the home of Lydia, and his pulpit was in the prayer place; at Thessalonica his meeting place was the house of Jason where he lodged; at Corinth he lodged with Aquila and Priscilla and preached in the home of Titus Justus; in Ephesus he taught in the school of Tyrannus.

The organization of a Pauline congregation was doubtless similar to that of the church in Palestine. History has left us little record of the first groups of worshippers. We know that first Peter and then James, the Lord's brother, assumed the rôle of leadership. We are informed that in the earliest days the members held all things in common. This condition was brought about by two considerations; first, by reason of a natural impulse of love engendered by the spirit of the Master; in the second place because the early Christians lived in expectation of the return of Jesus. We read that to make the distribution of goods more certain and more fair, seven Deacons were appointed and dedicated to that task. We read, further, of the breaking of bread daily in the love feast. Beyond these few bare facts, we must depend, largely, upon our imaginations for any picture of the earliest church.

The model was undoubtedly the synagogue. In the Gentile churches of Paul this, too, was true; but his churches would be distinguished in several important respects: 1. While in Palestine the model was the synagogue, this pattern would be modified among the Gentiles by the influence of heathen clubs and societies as well as by new ideas which were bound to come in. 2. In Palestine the churches were all compara-

tively close together and were dominated by the Jerusalem body. This would tend to the formation in fact, if not in name, of a confederation. In the Gentile world the churches were separated by long distances in most cases. Each church would show a tendency to develop its own individuality, even peculiarity. It would assume a character of its own. 3. In Palestine the church was aristocratic. It was governed more or less by the actions of a single man who was chosen by reason of preëminence. First there was Peter, the favourite disciple; then James, who owed his position and authority to the fact that he was the brother of Jesus. The Pauline church would be more democratic. The love of individual liberty was strong among the Greeks. Even Paul's oversight and authority would be limited. both because of the independent spirit of the Greeks, and by reason of the fact that Paul was not often present. Indeed the danger was that each church would become isolated from the others. Paul recognized this and tried to keep up some intercourse between the churches by means of the collection for the mother church.

It seems strange to us, who are so fond of doing things "decently and in order," that no definite organization was perfected in the earliest days. That matters were left to take their own course is not difficult to understand, when we consider that Paul believed the end of the world to be at hand. Organization was hardly necessary. We should add to this consideration also, the fact that the church possessed and was ruled by the Spirit. The unity of the body of Christ was not to be secured by any mechanical means. There was "one faith, one hope, one baptism, one God and Father." Consequently it was felt that each church should be complete in itself and should be independent and democratic. The one authority acknowledged was the general meeting of the believers. Paul wrote and advised, but the whole church met and discussed and settled any question that arose. Thus the Pauline churches were self-governing bodies in which all the members had equal rights.

This general proposition became modified in two ways. In the first place, by distinctions in spiritual gifts. This matter will be discussed later in this chapter. Meanwhile we must

notice that, while all gifts of the Spirit were of equal value, since they proceeded from one Spirit, some were more outstanding, more showy than others. Paul, himself, held that prophecy was the highest gift. The possessors of these more useful gifts—apostles, prophets, teachers—formed a class by themselves.

In the second place there were those who took a special interest in the church and played a more prominent part in its affairs. Churches have always been alike in this respect, that those who are willing to work find a larger and yet larger share to do. So it was in the days of Paul. Meetings had to be arranged, the elements provided for the Lord's supper, certain matters of correspondence attended to and the rolls of Scripture cared for. Thus we see that various members came into positions of leadership. Paul acknowledged them and begged others to do the same. Here is the real germ of the later organization which developed. Such men came to be regarded as officials and the whole administration of the church was gradually entrusted to them. Even in Paul's time we find traces of an official class within the church. Writing to the Philippians he says, "To the saints in Philippi, with the bishops and deacons." This verse has been hotly disputed, but we would do well to remember that this was one of the earliest Gentile churches and the letter referred to one of his latest. Such development was inevitable as the church increased in numbers and felt the need of organization.

There is another point which might be noted here. In the earliest days the apostles, prophets and teachers formed an itinerant class. They travelled about among the churches. In later years these men settled down in a particular city and became leaders of the local church.

The worship, too, followed the general order of the synagogue. This would consist of reading the Scriptures, exposition, singing of the Psalms and prayer. At the same time, this model would be modified by new Christian ideas. While the members of the synagogue listened only to the reading of what we call the Old Testament, the Gentile Christians would hear, also, the words of Jesus. Thus the New Testament

grew up and took form. To the music of the Psalms would be added the singing of Christian hymns. Prayer was not liturgical but consisted largely of speaking with tongues. The Spirit pervaded the whole manner of worship. Every one had his own gift. In the exercise of this " diversity of gifts " was a real difficulty, if not danger, which Paul foresaw and which he tried to curb.

We have referred to the fact that in this simple organization, if such a term can be applied, lay the germ of the later development which was well under way before the career of Paul was ended in the city of Rome. Three classes of men stood out prominently in the early Church. The Apostles were the friends of Jesus. They had, in most cases, been His intimate companions, and they had special gifts for awakening faith. They were itinerant and belonged to the whole Church. At least, the older Apostles served the whole Jewish section and Paul gave himself most generously to the Gentiles. The prophets were subject to those enthusiastic moods which were ascribed to the direct action of the Spirit. They proclaimed the truths of the Gospel in words of burning eloquence and were believed to have an insight into future events. Those who were exceptionally gifted travelled about from church to church, while those less endowed remained at home. The teachers, or evangelists, were men with special gifts for exposition. Like the prophets, some were itinerant and some were permanent residents. The three classes were not sharply distinguished. Paul, himself, for example, might well be included in any of the three categories. He was Apostle, Prophet and Teacher. Such early ministry was pneumatic and itinerant and the only basis of authority was one of personal endowment. Along with this earlier organization and because the Apostles, prophets and teachers were not on hand to settle matters of moment that might arise, and since they were men of visionary temperament and often totally unfitted for practical administration of affairs, there was growing up in each local community a group of leaders —Presbuteroi, men who were of approved character and able to deal with such situations as might occur.

Thus the organization was flexible. We should keep in

mind the fact that the Apostle's work was in great centres of population. Corinth, for example, was cosmopolitan and provided a cross section of humanity. Paul's congregation there would form a picture of many sided life. Some of the members would be Jews, but the majority would be Gentiles of many nationalities. Some were free, but the larger number would probably be slaves. There was a modicum of men and women of wealth, education and position but it seems clear that most of the early converts came from the poorer classes. In I Corinthians 1: 26–28 Paul writes:

"For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called: but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are."

In this passage Paul is undoubtedly referring to the cross which was a stumbling block to the Jews, in his day as in ours; but he is likewise commenting on the fact so apparent to the members of his churches, that the body of Christ was composed largely of the so-called lower strata of society.

Dr. Stalker describes the early Pauline congregation in the following words:

"The majority belong to what, in this pretentious city [Corinth], would be reckoned the foolish, the weak, the base and despised things of this world; they are slaves whose ancestors did not breathe the pellucid air of Greece but roamed in savage hordes on the banks of the Danube or the Dan. In a modern Christian congregation it is only here and there that a face may be seen in whose lines the tale is written of debauchery and crime. But in this Corinthian congregation these awful hieroglyphics are everywhere. Look at that tall, sallow-faced Greek; he has wallowed in the mire of Circe's swine pens. Look at that low-browed Scythian slave; he has been a pickpocket and a jailbird."

If we may judge from Paul's own words, this picture drawn by Dr. Stalker is a true characterization; for the Apostle writes to his Corinthian converts in his first Epistle:

"Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived; neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revelers, nor extortioners shall inherit the kingdom of God, and such were some of you."

This is a striking enumeration of the materials from which a large section of the Corinthian church had come; but Paul is able to write to them:

"but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God."

This welter of humanity had, by the same Spirit of God and through the earnestness of His Apostle, been welded into a congregation of believers and followers of the Master. Their worship would not be as dignified as ours. Nowhere in the New Testament have we any record of the "Order of Service," but from abuses which developed in the Corinthian church, we can gather some idea of the general procedure. Doubtless Dr. Stalker has come close to the order of events, or lack of order, when he says:

"There was this difference between their services and most of ours, that instead of one man conducting worship, preaching, offering the prayers and giving out the psalm, all the men present were at liberty to contribute their part. There may have been a leader or chairman; but one member might read a portion of Scripture, another offer prayer, a third deliver an address, a fourth raise a hymn, and so on. Nor does there seem to have been any fixed order in which the different parts of the service occurred; any member might rise and lead away the company into praise or prayer or meditation as he felt prompted or as he had gift."

These gifts are enumerated for us by the Apostle Paul in I Corinthians 12: 4:

"Now there are diversities of gifts but the same spirit. And there are differences of administration but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal. For to one is given by the Spirit, the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same spirit; to another faith by the same spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same spirit; to another the working of miracles, to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another diverse kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues."

The highest gift—that of wisdom—was doubtless the power to interpret the correct meaning of Scripture. It is difficult to distinguish between the gifts of wisdom and of knowledge. If, as we have supposed, wisdom applies to the interpretation of the Scriptures, then the gift of knowledge would doubtless be the ability to apply that interpretation to practical life. The gift of faith implies more than intellectual belief in Jesus as Lord; there must be the power to apply faith in service and love. Healing seems to refer to the power of exorcising spirits, the curing of diseases, probably of nervous disorders. There were also members in possession of the gift of prophecy. This word has had a change of meaning or of emphasis in modern times. The Hebrew prophet was interested first of all in the men of his own day. He might foretell events to come, and sometimes did; but this would occur in his more important duty of preaching about the conditions of his own age. Paul uses the word prophecy in this sense. The gift of prophecy was not the power of foretelling future events but one of impassioned eloquence. Besides these gifts there were those with which we are more familiar in our practical age, helps or helpers, teaching and the management of affairs.

Paul also speaks of the gift of tongues. Lindsay has defined this as "rapt, ejaculatory prayer uttered during unrestrained emotion where words often took the place of

sentences." This gift of tongues is looked upon with suspicion in the modern church, but was evidently in common use in Paul's day. The Apostle tells us that he, himself, possessed this gift. He says, "I speak with tongues more than you all." At the same time he warned his converts against its use and saw clearly the excess to which it might go when not restrained. There was also the further gift of interpretation of tongues. Sometimes the Christian brother who was speaking with tongues did not know what he was saying. In such cases it was necessary that another should interpret his words. This ability to interpret was a separate gift.

Paul speaks of the value of these manifestations of the spirit and enumerates them in the order of merit. He unquestionably believed in them and used them. Yet he recognized that their constant use meant a real danger to the worship of the church. He solemnly warned his Corinthian church that in the multiplicity of gifts was the gravest danger unless there was behind and above and around them the directing power of a great love which alone can guarantee their proper use. He closes the twelfth chapter of I Corinthians, in which he had spoken of these varied manifestations of the Spirit, and enumerated them, that he may present his ideas concerning the greatest of all gifts—the gift of love. Professor Weinel has arranged this great chapter in the form of a poem of three verses. We will quote his translations in full:

"If I speak with the tongues of men and angels, and have not love,
I am sounding brass and a clanging cymbal.
And if I am able to preach wonderfully
And know all mysteries and all knowledge,
And if I have all faith
And can remove mountains,
And have not love, I am nothing.
And if I give away all I possess,
And if I deliver up my body
And let myself be burned,
And have not love,
It profiteth me nothing.

Love is long-suffering and kind: love envieth not,
Love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up.
Doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own,
Is not provoked, nor doth she reckon up her wrongs.
Rejoiceth not in unrighteousness but rejoiceth with the truth.
She covereth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.

Love never ceaseth
Prophetic gifts—they shall pass,
Tongues—sometime they will cease,
Knowledge—it shall be done away,
For our knowledge is incomplete,
Incomplete our prophesying;
But as soon as perfection comes—
Then, what is incomplete will be cast aside.
When I was a child
I talked like a child,
I felt as a child,
I thought as a child.
When I became a man
Then the child's world was put away.
For now we see a riddle in a mirror
But then face to face!
Now my knowledge is incomplete,
But then I shall know as fully as I am known.
Faith, hope and love abide forever more, these three,
But the greatest of these is love."

Thus was the regular service in the church in so far as we can reconstruct it. Another meeting was held by the members either at the close of the day of worship or on a special evening during the week. This was the love-feast which ended with the breaking of bread in the Lord's Supper. How often this gathering was held we do not know, but there was more of the spirit of comradeship than in the church meeting. Because of this fact abuses developed with which Paul was forced to deal sternly. It would appear from Paul's rebuke of the Corinthian church that the members were in the habit of sitting down at a common meal provided by the hostess of the occasion, and partaking too greedily of the bread and

wine. Again, it would appear that sometimes the members brought their own supplies for the supper and provided too liberally. Instead of distributing the elements evenly, or waiting decorously for all the brethren, some were in the habit of partaking so voraciously that the result was drunkenness and riot. Paul rebukes these practices in I Corinthians 11: 20. He writes:

"When ye come together therefore into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's supper: and one is hungry and another is drunken. What? Have ye not houses to eat and drink in? Or despise ye the church of God and shame them that have not? What shall I say to you? Shall I praise you in this? I praise you not."

There were also domestic abuses and these were causing a scandal to the whole church. These Greek idolaters had not left all of their heathen customs behind them when they became members of the Christian church. Paul had to rebuke the Corinthian Christians concerning these things. In the Jewish section of the church, moreover, there were grave questions about many matters. The Jews could not tolerate the loose morals of some of the Gentiles and in their opposition were driven to extremes. Some denounced marriage altogether; others questioned the right of widows to marry again; still others raised the question as to what was to be done in the case of a Christian married to a heathen. Should the union be dissolved or should an attempt be made to convert the heathen party?

More serious still, from the point of view of the peace and harmony of the church, was the vaunting of spiritual gifts. Evidently most of the members were parading the showy gifts of prophecy and of speaking with tongues. So eager were they for this display of talent that several would be shouting with tongues at the same time, to the utter confusion of the church and the shame of the members. For the Apostle's discussion of these matters, and for his stern rebuke of them, the reader is referred to I Corinthians 14.

An excellent summary of this darker side of the picture of

a Pauline church is presented by Dr. Stalker in his "Life of St. Paul." We will quote at length:

"In spite of the brotherly kiss with which their meetings closed, they had fallen into mutual rivalry and contention. No doubt this was due to the heterogeneous elements brought together in the church. But it had been allowed to go to great lengths. Brother went to law with brother in the heathen courts instead of seeking the arbitration of a Christian friend. The body of the members was split into four theological factions. Some called themselves after Paul himself. These treated the scruples of the weaker brethren about meats and other things with scorn. Others took the name of Apollonians from Apollos, an eloquent teacher from Alexandria who visited Corinth between Paul's second and third journeys. These were the Philosophical party. They denied the doctrine of the resurrection. The third party took the name of Peter or Cephas. These were narrow-minded Jews who objected to the liberality of Paul's views. The fourth party affected to be above all parties and called themselves simply Christians. These were the most bitterly sectarian of all and rejected Paul's authority with malicious scorn."

From the above discussion it will be seen that the organization of the Pauline church, if the term organization may be applied at all, was very flexible. As has been already suggested, what need was there for a definite plan of church work and life? Paul lived in daily expectation of the coming of the Parousia. At any time the Lord might appear to gather up His own. As one with a poetic imagination has said, "When the morning broke red, people asked each other whether it was not a precursor of that mighty sheen of fire which was to fall from heaven and destroy all the evil in the world. And when in the evening the golden beams shot like spears across the skies, these were the angel's weapons." Some temporary organization was necessary in the meantime, but let it be as simple as possible. The Spirit of the Master would bring order out of chaos for "God is not the author of confusion but of peace, as in all the churches of the Saints." The church was the body of Christ and He would see that it was carried forward until that day. In the

meantime the trumpet of the Lord might sound to-day or to-morrow and the kingdom would be ushered in. The main consideration was to work mightily against that day. Among the gifts bestowed by the Spirit were those which would take care of the temporary organization. There were manifestations of helps and of governments. With the guiding principle of service, the motto of the church would not be self-seeking but love. "If any man desire to be first, the same shall be last of all and servant of all." Stephanus might be the leading member in Corinth but it would only be because of service. Phœbe did for the converts at Cenchrea what Stephanus had done at Corinth. The President of the meeting was that man or woman who stood ready to help in any emergency. This spirit of service, and the guidance of the Spirit of Christ which was love, were the regulating principles of the Church.

Thus overseers came to rule the flock. The first Bishop was raised to his position by reason of services performed. Paul wrote to the Thessalonian church, "We beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord and admonish you; and to esteem them very highly in love for their works' sake." It was thus that the earliest Bishop came into being in the congregation, but, as Professor Weinel says, "Men are forever clamouring to be led and governed and it is easy enough to conceive how, having learnt to subject themselves in love and courtesy they should once again learn to create their rulers." Indeed, this latter step would become imperative as the church grew in numbers and influence. The overseer must give more and more time to the work. The development to a permanent and paid ministry was inevitable.

While the churches established by the Apostle were widely scattered, there were several influences which helped to consolidate them. It was an age of travel. Thanks to the Romans, good roads led to all the important towns of the interior and the sea was an open highway. The means of communication meant more or less of cohesion among the far-flung churches. An itinerant ministry kept the scattered churches interested in one another and disseminated informa-

tion concerning the whole body of Christ. The spirit of Christian liberality, kept alive by the Apostle, by means of his collection for the poor in Jerusalem, formed a strong bond of union. The churches felt that they were co-workers in a common cause. Above all else the Apostle carried upon his own shoulders the burdens of all the churches. After all, these were his spiritual children and the work was his. He encouraged the congregations to write to him regarding internal difficulties; he answered their letters, commending their faithfulness and condemning their faults; he sent messengers to carry greetings and advice.

It was necessary that this simple organization be formed and developed. Even Paul, who believed with all the ardour of his being in the power of the Holy Spirit to guide and direct his people, saw that organization in the individual church, and fellowship among the separated groups, was more necessary as the days went by and difficulties multiplied. There were dangers from without as well as from within. Paul did not fear the internal troubles. He believed that such things as personal vanity, ambition, strife and slander must give way to the Spirit of Christ; but he did fear the effects of the active opposition of the Jews. More and more the mother church in Jerusalem came under the survey of an extreme legal party which was insistent that the Gentiles must become Jews. This party would impose circumcision and the Law on every convert and, in spite of the findings of the Council of Jerusalem, exercised its utmost strength and zeal to sever the bond which united Paul to his scattered groups. To prevent these Jews from accomplishing their designs, and to safeguard "sound doctrine" within the walls of his widely separated churches, with all their varying tendencies, he was forced to lay the foundation of an organization. As Professor Weinel says so admirably, "What he did want was to save his congregations from absorption in the whirlpool of a religious revolution, from imprisonment, from decay, and uncharitableness."

XII

THE EARLY LETTERS OF PAUL

"That which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches."

NO account of the missionary work of Paul would be complete without some reference to the letters which he wrote to his churches. It was not easy in that day to keep in touch with the groups which he had established in cities so widely scattered. Messengers came to him asking advice on many things and he sent his assistants to visit the congregations. These means of communication were expensive. The Apostle supplemented this work by writing to the churches. Many of these letters have found their way into the New Testament and have been thus preserved to us. It is important to remember that, in almost every case, the Epistles were written to serve some practical end. Paul felt, as he tells us, that he had the "care of all the churches" upon him. He wrote as a pastor to his flock, to correct abuses which had arisen, to give spiritual guidance, to correct some heresy or to encourage the faithful.

The general practice of the Apostle, as we find by examination of his letters, was to write by an amanuensis or secretary, adding at the end a salutation in his own handwriting, that the congregation might know that the letter was of genuine Pauline authorship. Paul did everything intensively and sometimes he poured out his thoughts in such a torrent of words that he lost sight of grammatical construction. In such cases, the faithful secretary wrote them down as dictated. This method occasionally makes it difficult for us to understand precisely what he meant. How many letters he wrote we do not know; but evidences are not lacking that there were more than the number which has been preserved

in the New Testament. In II Thessalonians, which was one of his earliest letters, being the second in chronological order of those which we possess, he uses the words " every Epistle." This would seem to indicate that there were others written before this time, of which we have no knowledge. Those which have come down to us were kept sacred because of the love and reverence which his converts bore him. We should remember that when these Epistles were received by the churches they were not part of the Scriptures. The only Bible his converts possessed consisted of the books of the Old Testament, and even of these, only as many as they were able to afford. It was at a much later period that the letters of Paul found their way into the Canon of the New Testament. That this should have been so at all is the greatest compliment that has ever been paid to his life and work. As the years went by we may be sure that some of his letters would be mutilated or lost. Especially were they liable to this misfortune since they were circulated among the churches, being handled in loose manuscript form and not printed and bound like our own volumes.

At the same time it would be easy for us to magnify the number of letters forwarded by Paul to the churches. He was a very busy man and must have had little time for correspondence. He had to support himself by manual labour in most of the cities where he carried on his missionary work, and he preached to groups and to individuals, and visited from house to house. When we add to these considerations the fact that inter-communication was both difficult and expensive, we can easily understand that the number of Epistles would be limited within a comparatively narrow range. Paul had no means of support other than the money he earned by working at his trade and the occasional gifts he accepted from his friends. The consideration of these facts would seem to indicate that the number of letters written out and despatched would not be materially larger than that which we possess. After the Apostle's death the letters were gathered up, in some cases, it would appear, fragments as well as complete Epistles, and were included in the volume we know as the New Testament. We will now proceed to a

brief discussion of these letters in their proper chronological order, as far as that is possible.

THE THESSALONIAN LETTERS

In discussing the Apostle's visit to Athens we suggested the possibility that Silas and Timothy joined him there. Of this we cannot be sure. But it seems probable that, from the Athenian city, Paul sent Timothy back to Thessalonica and Silas to Philippi. He was doubtless anxious as to the fate of the Christians there, since his own ministry had been interrupted in both cities. However this may be, whether Timothy remained behind in Berœa when Paul moved on to Athens, and then visited Thessalonica on his own responsibility, or whether he came to Athens and was despatched thither, it seems clear that he joined Paul soon after the latter's arrival at Corinth. It would appear that Timothy brought messages from the Thessalonian church, which caused the Apostle to write his first Epistle to the Thessalonians.

From this letter, it seems evident that the preaching of the great missionary in Thessalonica, and elsewhere in Macedonia, was both moral and eschatological. In this Epistle, Paul begins with a salutation and a thanksgiving for the zeal and faith of his converts. Having thus cleared the ground, he warns them against sexual immorality which was so prevalent among the Gentiles. He holds up before them a high ideal of marriage. He is concerned about the fact that they have not completely departed from idolatry; for he warns them that in becoming Christians they have turned from idols "to serve the living and the true God."

With regard to Paul's eschatological teaching, it would appear that he had instructed his converts in the imminence of God's kingdom. Jesus was to return almost immediately and gather up His own. In the meantime, certain members of the Thessalonian church, who had been eagerly expecting the Parousia, had died. What was to become of them? Paul wrote to comfort the survivors and friends of these deceased converts and to inform them that when the Lord appeared those believers who have passed on will be the first to join

Him in that resurrection morning. He writes to them as follows:

"But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. For this we say unto you by the Word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort one another with these words."

Along with this need of comfort there were certain symptoms of restlessness in the Thessalonian church, which must be condemned or corrected. The members were speculating on the times and seasons of the future and were neglecting the important duties of to-day. This condition the Apostle seeks to correct by reminding them of that faith and hope and fellowship for which formerly they had been held in such high esteem and which must again be revived. Jesus will come again, suddenly, as a thief in the night. Let them be ready for Him when He comes. Paul closes his letter with some practical advice. He advises them not to render evil for evil; to rejoice, pray and give thanks; to keep the Spirit alive and not to despise prophesyings and, proving all things, to hold fast to the good.

We have no means of judging what period of time intervened between the writing of the first and the second Epistle. We can say with definite assurance that this latter was also despatched before the Apostle left Corinth. The members were still disturbed over Paul's teaching that the kingdom of heaven was at hand. Men and women were as busy in that day as in ours, arranging the "times and seasons" for the Master. In meeting this situation, Paul makes certain predictions which cannot be satisfactorily understood. These we

find nowhere else in his Epistles. Certain events, he says, concerning which he seems to have warned them previously, must first run their course before the end comes. In Thessalonians 2: 3, 4, and 5, he says:

"For that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God shewing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things."

Note: The genuineness of II Thessalonians has been attacked on two grounds: first, the difference between the two letters concerning the second coming of Christ; second, the similarity of the second letter to the first in other respects. No attempt is made to enter into this discussion. The writer's opinion is that there are no valid grounds for doubting the genuineness of the second letter.

With regard to the other letters of this period, especially Galatians and the Corinthian letters, there are other intriguing questions which arise. While their genuineness is not questioned, many volumes have been written concerning the time, place and circumstances. It is an interesting problem, for instance, to try to discover just how many letters were written to the Corinthians and whether the second letter is really one, or two in one. Similarly it is of interest, though the writer does not consider it of vital interest, to know whether Paul wrote to the north or south Galatians. But such discussions would carry us too far afield and can find no place in a volume of this size and scope. If the reader is interested in these questions, he can find much material in any work on Galatians and the Corinthian letters. Essentially, it makes no difference to our understanding and appreciation of the missionary work and methods of the Apostle.

GALATIANS

We have seen that before he settled definitely to his task in Ephesus, Paul made a tour of the Galatian churches. It

seems quite clear that his Epistle to the Galatians was written after this visit. A previous tour of inspection and encouragement had taken place immediately following the Jerusalem Council. On the former occasion, Paul had been anxious to counteract the work of the Judaisers, by announcing the decision of the conference. He was eager, likewise, to see what his opponents had been able to accomplish in their efforts to wean away his converts. On this third visit he found that his enemies had not diminished but increased their efforts; that they had grown more bold and had attacked his authority and his sincerity. They had represented to the Galatian churches that he had been commissioned to preach by the Apostles in Jerusalem and had been disloyal to them. Paul had done his best to checkmate this destructive teaching, but now that he is in Ephesus he hears that the Galatians are being carried away by the fervour of the Judaisers. He cannot visit them again in person; he therefore wrote this letter full of love for his children in Christ, but at the same time filled with violent indignation against those who would lead the Galatians astray. The letter is one of passionate longing for the spiritual welfare of his people.

While it is perfectly natural that this Epistle, born of the needs of the moment, and poured forth with passionate earnestness, should show no logical arrangement, still it may be divided more or less accurately as follows:

Chapters 1: 1 –2: 14—A zealous defense of Paul's apostolic authority.
" 2: 15–4: 7 —Instruction to the Galatians.
" 4: 8 –5: 24—An appeal to his converts.
" 5: 25–6: 10—Further instruction.
" 6: 11–6: 18—Conclusion.

In the salutation the Apostle gives us a general idea of what is to follow. He informs the Galatians that he received his call to the apostleship from God, and not from men. Paul is surprised to learn that his converts have been so easily led astray. The temper of his mind is clearly seen in that passage where he declares that any one who preaches a Gospel different from that which he preaches, is accursed. He in-

formed his people that after his conversion he had gone directly into Arabia and, for a period of three years, he had had no communication or conversation with the older Apostles. Following this period in Arabia, he had spent fifteen days with Peter in Jerusalem and had then gone into Syria and Cilicia. After fourteen years he came again to Jerusalem with Barnabas and Titus, to have the matter of his Gospel of freedom settled once for all. Titus was not compelled to be circumcised and the Apostles gave to Paul and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship. Thus agreement was reached. Paul was to go to the Gentiles and the other Apostles to the Jews.

Even the latter, Paul contends, are not justified by the Law but by faith in Christ. " By the works of the Law shall no man be justified." To turn back to Jewish ceremonialism after faith in Christ, would be to make His death of no effect. Paul proceeded to recall how he had preached Christ to the Galatians; but they had been bewitched. When they had embraced the Gospel, they had received the Spirit by faith in Christ and not by obedience to the Law. This being so, how could they now expect to be perfected by the Law? Even Abraham was justified by faith, and the true sons of Abraham are those who are justified not by the Law, but by faith. Even those who live under the Law are by no means able to fulfill its demands, as the Scriptures prove. The Law has become a curse in that those, who live under its demands, cannot fulfill its precepts. The just shall live by faith. Jesus has redeemed us from the curse of the Law; for He became a curse for us. That is to say, He was hanged on the cursed tree.

What then, it might be asked, was the purpose of the Law? It was a temporary expedient, inferior to the promise to Abraham, but necessary because of sin. The Law was a schoolmaster to lead the Israelites forward until the promise was fulfilled in Christ. All races of men may become co-inheritors with the Jews by union with Him. By faith in Christ we become sons of God and heirs of the promise.

Here the Apostle turns to make an appeal to the Galatians. In former times, he writes to them, they were in bond-

age to gods who were not real gods at all, but idols. Now, having been freed, they show a desire to return again to bondage, the enslavement of the Law. Already, he hears, they are observing some of its calendar feasts and he is afraid all his labour has been in vain. He seems to infer that he had lived among them as a Gentile. He reminds them of the hospitality and enthusiasm with which they had received him when he came to them in weakness; now false teachers have been winning away their affections.

Paul speaks of the two sons of Abraham. The one was born of a bondwoman, but the other of a free. The son of the former was a child of the flesh; the child of Sarah was born of promise. This he declares to be an allegory, applicable to their own position and desires. Christians should stand firm in their freedom and "be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage." Circumcision will profit nothing. To come under the Law is to fall from grace. God has not called them to this change of heart.

Now, freedom from the Law of the Jews does not mean release from the moral law. Christians must live under the law of love. Thus, living in the Spirit of Christ, which frees from the Law, there will be produced in our hearts the fruits of the Spirit. Paul then compares the life lived in the Spirit with that lived in the flesh. He enumerates the fruits of each in turn and shows that the former lead to life and the latter to death.

Paul stresses the importance of this letter by referring to the fact that he has written it with his own hand. In conclusion, he reminds them that the Judaisers are insincere and only wish to make converts that they may boast in their victory over him. As far as he is concerned, he will boast in nothing but the cross of Christ, through which the world is dead unto him, and he unto the world. Circumcision means nothing at all, but to be a new creature in Christ means everything. "From henceforth let no man trouble me; for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus."

THE CORINTHIAN LETTERS

It would appear that Paul had considerable correspondence

with the church at Corinth. The letter which we know as I Corinthians, but which many scholars believe is not the first, is the most important document we possess, as far as our knowledge of the internal life of an early Christian community is concerned. Paul wrote to serve practical ends and for this very reason, he is forced to deal with difficulties which had arisen in the church. In so doing, he gives us a vivid picture of its life.

This first letter was called forth from two main considerations. In the first place, Paul received certain information concerning the internal affairs of the congregation, from servants of the household of Chloe, possibly slaves who plied back and forth between Ephesus and Corinth. Again, this information was supplemented by that which he received from Stephanus, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, who brought a letter from the church at Corinth to Paul. This letter implored the Apostle's aid and authority in dealing with certain problems and scandals which had arisen.

From this twofold source of information Paul learned that there were divisions in the church; that parties had been formed which took the names of Paul, Apollos, Cephas and Christ. He learned, also, that there were grave social and moral irregularities. There was at least one error in doctrine, for some individual or individuals were teaching that there was no resurrection from the dead. To this catalogue of evils, we must add the disputes among the members and the scramble for places of prominence and authority. Grave faults had shown themselves in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. To deal with these several abuses, Paul despatched the so-called first Epistle. It may be summarized somewhat as follows:

Chapter	1	– 1: 9	—Salutation and Thanksgiving.
"	1	–10: 6	—Conditions at Corinth with which the Apostle is forced to deal, party divisions; the case of the incestuous man; the desire of the Corinthians for litigation in the heathen courts; fornication.

Chapter 7 –11 —Matters concerning which the Corinthians had asked for advice, Marriage, Virgins, Idols.
" 11: 2–11: 16—Covering the head in public worship.
" 11: 17–11: 34—The Lord's Supper.
" 12 –14 —The disputes inside the church and the " better way."
" 15 —The Resurrection.
" 16: 19–16: 24—Salutations and the superscription of Paul.

In the previous chapter, in discussing the organization of the Pauline church, many of these internal matters in the Corinthian congregation were dealt with at some length. Here the Epistle as a whole will be very briefly reviewed. The purpose in dealing with this and the other letters of Paul, is not to present a survey of his teaching. That would require a volume in itself and is rightly a separate subject; for the Apostle was a theologian as well as a preacher. The aim here is merely to touch upon the outstanding ideas of the letter with the hope that the reader may find an increased desire to study the work of Paul minutely.

Paul begins the main body of this letter with an argument as to the insufficiency of that human wisdom on which the Corinthians have placed such stress. Many scholars are of the opinion that he is attacking the wisdom teaching of Apollos, the philosopher from Alexandria. The Apostle insists that he had not preached worldly wisdom and that God had not chosen the wise. Turning to the party spirit, he says that the very presence of these divisions proves that the Corinthians are not capable of grasping the fact that Paul and Apollos are but ministers of Christ. No test of man's work is availing except God's test at the last day. The very fact that there are divisions proves that they are not in possession of that wisdom of which they boast. They are but babes and must be fed with milk. Let them put aside this false wisdom and obtain that which is of God.

The Apostle turns next to that case of gross immorality which was proving a scandal to the whole church. A certain

member of the congregation had taken his father's wife, a sin which even the pagans would not tolerate; yet he had not been expelled from the fellowship of the brethren. Paul advised that the whole church come together and that the man be excommunicated.

From the discussion of what should be done with the immoral man, the Apostle turns to the matter of litigation in the heathen courts. Some of the members were going to law with other members instead of asking the services of a brother as arbitrator. Paul declares it is better to suffer injury than to take legal action against a brother.

Concerning those matters, regarding which the Corinthian Christians had asked the Apostle's advice, he turns first to that of marriage. For Paul's discussion of this matter, together with the proper manner of observing the Lord's Supper, the internal disputes concerning parties and the proper use of the gifts of the Spirit, as well as that marvelous chapter on the resurrection, the reader is referred to a study of the Epistle, itself. It is not possible for us to deal with them here. It will be sufficient to note that he bravely faces all the evils in the Corinthian church, of which he has learned, the pride of intellect, the spirit of division and dissension, the loose morality, the forgetfulness of decency and order, the false beliefs. Throughout his whole discussion of them, he points unerringly to Christ as the power of God and the wisdom of God. Christ can only be spiritually discerned through the power of the Holy Spirit, which will guide men not only to faith in Him, but unto love and common brotherhood. With remarkable tact he dealt with difficult questions like those of marriage, and meats offered unto idols, and the distribution and use of gifts, reducing them to first principles, and relating all things to Christ who will show the true way of life to all who seek His favour.

Having forwarded this letter to the Corinthian church, Paul remained at Ephesus for some time. At length he set out for Troas on his way to Macedonia. Evidently he desired to remain there but his anxiety to hear from the church at Corinth caused him to push forward into Macedonia, where he met Titus with the news for which he had waited

so impatiently. Immediately, Paul sent the second Epistle to Corinth. Even the casual reader must notice the agitation which expresses itself in every line of this second letter. The cause of this forms a very interesting problem in New Testament criticism. In the first Epistle we have the faults and difficulties of the Corinthian congregation presented to us. Paul wrote to correct them, to deal with offenders and to assert his authority. In the second, there is evidence that something has happened to threaten the relationship existing between him and this church.

When Paul sent the first letter to the Corinthians, he stayed on in the city of Ephesus. During this interval he sent Timothy on a mission to the city of Corinth. We have no information concerning the journey, nor the cause of the Apostle's action. It is surmised that Timothy found a situation there much more serious to the Apostle's authority than the refusal to excommunicate the incestuous man. Evidently an attack had been made on Paul's authority and even on his integrity. Even the party spirit of Paul versus Apollos had been thrown into the background by some new development.

There are many scholars who hold that the cause of the trouble was the immoral man and his friends. These simply refused to listen to Paul's advice that the man be expelled from the church, and, from open rebellion, they went to an attack against the Apostle, himself. This explanation of the difficulty in Corinth is perhaps the one most commonly held and is supported by Stanley, Alford, Davidson, Conybeare and Howson. But their view does not seem to account for the tone of Paul's second letter. It also fails to take account of the missions of Timothy and Titus. Paul speaks of an offense against himself. He could hardly look upon the case of the incestuous man, or even upon the fact that his friends had identified themselves with his quarrel, as an offense against himself. It seems much more reasonable, in view of the tone of Paul's letter and its reference to an attack against him, to assume that the old enemies, the Judaisers, had come upon the scene. Some members of the Corinthian church had been led away by these enemies, to make an attack upon Paul's

Gospel and upon his courage. Paul, they held, had made threats but he had been careful not to come to Corinth. So bitter was this attack that it threatened the Apostle's connection with his church.

When Paul heard of this condition—probably on the return of Timothy—he sent Titus to Corinth with a stern rebuke. To Paul it looked like a crisis in his work. He threatened to come in person and assert his authority. When his messenger had gone, Paul repented of his action. What he suffered during the period of suspense until Titus returned, we see from II Corinthians 2: 4, " Out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote to you with many tears." Again in 2: 13, " I had no rest in my spirit." In spite of his anxiety, he determined to await the issue rather than to visit Corinth, hoping against hope that his journey might eventually be a happy one. Titus brought the welcome news that the offender had been punished and had submitted to the church. He brought, also, the congregation's shame and penitence over the whole incident. Even now Paul did not hasten to Corinth but wrote to them the letter we know as the second Epistle, and forwarded it by the hands of Titus and two others.

When we read the letter in the light of these circumstances, we can understand its many allusions. Paul asserts his authority as an Apostle. Because of the very circumstances under which it was written, the Epistle throws a flood of light upon the man, himself. He includes a catalogue of his sufferings, not by way of boasting of his fidelity, but merely as a proof of his sincerity as a preacher. He speaks of the care of all the churches, giving us some idea, at least, of visits, of letters, of intercourse by means of messengers, concerning a great deal of which we can only guess.

Paul speaks of visions he has had and refers to one particular trance many years before, when he had been caught up into the seventh heaven and had heard words so sacred that he could not utter them. He refers to his " thorn in the flesh." Many interpretations have been placed upon this infirmity of the Apostle. Roman Catholic commentators have been inclined to regard it as a strong sensual temptation. Luther interpreted it as a temptation to unbelief. In view

of the fact that Paul gloried in this infirmity, both of these suggestions must be eliminated. Modern scholars are almost unanimously agreed that he refers to some bodily ailment from which he was a constant sufferer.

ROMANS

The Epistle to the Romans was written by Paul while staying in Corinth, preparatory to journeying to Jerusalem with his collection for the poor. He felt that his work in the East was finished. He could now say that the Gospel had been preached in Galatia, Asia, Macedonia and in Greece. The foundations had been well laid and others would carry the work forward. It had long been his desire to preach in Spain, also. On his journey thither he purposed to visit Rome. This letter was his introduction to the Roman Christians. It has been placed at the opening of that section of the New Testament devoted to the Pauline Epistles. That represents the judgment of the church upon its value and is not meant to suggest the order in which the letters were written. In chronological order, it is the sixth Epistle, having been preceded by Thessalonians, Galatians and Corinthians.

Paul had never visited the church in Rome and had had no part in its foundation. We must not think, however, that it was not known to him. He had many friends there, as we see from chapter 16, and had the highest opinion of them and of the church to which they belonged. Paul is anxious to come before them in the most favourable light. Added to that consideration is the glamour of the name of Rome. Accordingly he wrote a reasoned and stately summary of the doctrines which he had preached for many years. Phœbe, a Christian lady resident in Cenchrea, the port of Corinth, was about to make a journey to Rome on some private business. Into her hands Paul placed the letter for delivery to the Roman church.

There has been considerable discussion as to the composition of that body. It has been argued that the dignified form and style of the letter are due to the fact that Paul wrote to the Gentiles there. There are some passages in the

letter which might lend weight to that argument. Others, again, claim that the Apostle wrote to the Jews. They point to the long section on legalism as proof of this. It would appear, however, that the church at Rome was not materially different in its composition from that in any other Gentile city. The original nucleus was possibly formed from Jews or proselytes who came out from the synagogue. The name of the founder is not known. Possibly he or they came from Palestine. In Rome the Gospel was evidently offered to Jews and Gentiles. There may have been other Jews, besides Paul, who turned to the Gentiles.

The purpose of the letter is evidently to show forth the mercies of God in Jesus Christ. Salvation is by the free gift of God's grace through faith in His crucified Son. God has provided for both Jews and Gentiles a righteousness which is by faith in Christ. Unquestionably Paul has frequently in his mind the Jew who stands aloof. He enumerates and answers all the questions of such. Paul's rabbinical method is shown here at its best. He uses the question and answer method of Gamaliel's school. The Jew insists he has no need of righteousness as has the Gentile. Paul deals with this. He tells the Jew that no man may be justified by the Law. The Jew insists that Paul is putting a premium on sin. He replies that faith in Christ implies a change of heart which transforms the whole life. Paul shows that all that the Jew had ever hoped for, and more, is open to all men through faith in Christ.

In chapters 9–11, he turns to the problem of the Jew and his future. That is a question dear to the Apostle's heart and has caused him much uneasiness in past years. Chapters 12–15 are very practical and show how salvation finds expression in life and character.

The last two chapters of the Epistle have caused considerable discussion. There is evidence that toward the close of the second century the letter circulated in two forms. The one was the form in which we now have it; the other omitted chapters 15 and 16, except that in some manuscripts the closing doxology was included. Interest has been added to this discussion by reason of the fact that there are references

to so many friends of Paul resident in Rome. It has been argued that he could not have known so many people there. When we consider, however, that he had spent many years in travel in and about the great cities of the East, surely it is not an astonishing thing that he knew intimately so many people who had found their way to Rome. It is pushing criticism rather far to object to the Pauline authorship of a chapter simply because it refers to a number of people resident in a distant city where the author has never been.

For the absence of chapter 15 and part, or all, of chapter 16, in many manuscripts, there have been two ingenious explanations put forward. Bishop Lightfoot suggests that, after the letter was despatched to Rome, Paul adopted a copy of it for general circulation by removing chapter 15 and all of 16 except the doxology. He also elided the words, "In Rome," which are not found in some manuscripts. Lake, on the other hand, suggests that chapters 1–14 were originally a circular letter addressed to all the churches. When Paul wished to send it to Rome, preliminary to his coming, he added chapters 15 and 16 and inserted the words, "In Rome."

This brief discussion will serve, at least, to show that in every age, and by people of varying theories and ideas concerning the destination of the letter and the form it originally took, it has been regarded, and still is regarded, as the greatest summary of Christian Doctrine we possess from the hand of Paul. We can read here the thoughts that possessed this great missionary. In imagination we can picture him presenting these great truths in every great city of the eastern world. The Gentiles had received some revelation of God; but they had not lived up to what knowledge they had. Their supreme need was the revelation of Jesus Christ. The Jews were in no better situation. They had the Law; but the Law was only an intermediary stage of revelation at its best. Christ had superseded the Law. God had brought a new way of salvation in Jesus Christ. By faith in Him we are justified before God. The new life in Jesus Christ is a life in the spirit and not in the flesh. In this new spiritual life the Christian lives in a filial relationship to God. He lives

in the closest intimacy with Christ. In life and in death his face is set toward the Christ who died for him. In his personal life the Christian must be pure. In society he must be modest, humble, sincere, patient, cheerful, sympathetic, merciful, generous and hospitable.

There are those who tell us that Paul founded a new religion. We occasionally hear such questions as "Jesus or Paul?" Jesus founded Christianity. A comparison of chapters 12–15 of Romans with chapters 5–7 of Matthew will show that the Apostle had "been with Jesus and had learned of him."

XIII

PAUL AND THE SUPERNATURAL

"And granted signs and wonders to be done by their hands."

IT is not our purpose in this chapter to enter into the whole subject of miracles. A discussion, for instance, of the arguments whether a miracle is a suspension of natural law, or whether it is something which operates under its own law, would take us entirely too far afield. Our interest here lies in the miracles of Paul. As far as these are concerned, the question naturally begins with the miracles of Jesus. Two preliminary problems present themselves to us in this connection. 1. Did Jesus perform miracles? 2. Did He delegate to His disciples the power to perform miracles?

In answering the first question it may be stated that the writers of the Gospel narratives unquestionably believed that Jesus performed miracles. They unhesitatingly proclaimed the fact that He was gifted with wonderful powers. This is asserted again and again. Peter also asserted this fact. In his sermon at Pentecost he said, "Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God unto you by mighty works and wonders and signs which God did by him in the midst of you, even as ye, yourselves, know." The four Gospels present for our inspection some thirty-five miracles which were performed by the Master. Besides these, many of which are described in detail, there are frequent general references to the fact that He healed "all manner of diseases and sickness." We read, also, that all those who had friends possessed with devils or suffering from illness, brought them to Jesus and He healed them. There is one beautiful scene which presents Jesus by the Sea of Galilee, walking among the crowd of diseased and crippled as some master physician might walk the wards of a city hospital,

and healing with a touch as he passed by. Indeed, there are so many references that it is not possible here to do otherwise than to make the simple statement that there must have been scores of miracles besides those which are definitely mentioned or described.

Those who have attacked the miracles on various grounds have spent much time in discovering evidence of exaggeration in the statement of them. That there might be some over-statement would be a very natural thing. Those who wrote down the record were human men and as prone to error as most of us. That does not mean that the miraculous in Jesus is to be discredited. It is also true that some of the miracles may be open to a natural explanation. Those who object to the walking on the sea, for example, tell us that Jesus was walking by the sea, or in the shoals, or along the beach. The recovery of the centurion's servant while Jesus was yet a great way off, might conceivably have been due to a crisis in his disease, successfully passed. The fish providing the coin may be an allegory and the money may have been provided from the sale of the fish. Some of these things might be frankly conceded without disturbing at all our belief that Jesus had and used the power of working miracles.

There are some who would even find a natural explanation for the narratives of Jesus' raising the dead to life. They tell us that the persons concerned were not actually dead, but only in a state of coma. Concerning the daughter of Jairus, they point out that the Master said, "She is not dead but sleepeth." Perhaps He meant these words literally. The "naturalists" remind us that the story of Lazarus is narrated only by John, and is not even hinted at in the other Gospels. They contend that this is a very significant fact when viewed in connection with the general trend and teaching of the Fourth Gospel. It is pointed out further, that in medical practice, no one who is re-animated is considered to have been dead. Michlem writes:

"In the eyes of a twentieth century practitioner, a person who has been restored to life, eo ipso, can never have died,

and however assured prior to the re-animation a doctor may have been that death had taken place, after re-animation he would undubitably claim that he had been mistaken in his previous diagnosis."

All this seems travelling a long way to bolster up a position which those who oppose the miracles of Jesus, themselves know to be insecure. Still, all that has been said might be frankly conceded without doing any material damage to our conviction that Jesus did wondrous things which, before His day, were undreamed of in the thoughts of men. There remains abundant evidence that this is so.

It is just as evident that the Master delegated this power to His disciples. In Matthew 10: 1 it is asserted that,

"When he had called unto him his twelve disciples, he gave them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out and to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease."

In the same chapter, verse 8, the commandment to preach is combined with another to "Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead and cast out devils." Mark limits the power of the disciples in 3: 16, to "power to heal sicknesses and to cast out devils." In 6: 7, he says, "and gave them power over unclean spirits." In the closing part of the last chapter, however, which part many scholars reject as not belonging to the original Gospel, Mark says:

"And these signs shall follow them that believe; in my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover."

Both Mark and Luke refer to the fact that the disciples had success in casting out demons and in healing the sick. Thus, the evidence here, also, is conclusive that Jesus gave to His disciples a power like unto that which He, Himself, possessed.

Luke records many miracles performed by Paul. Not only have we this testimony of the historian, but we have also the word of the Apostle himself. Though Paul makes no attempt to enumerate these signs and wonders he often refers to them. In his speech to the Jerusalem Council, as we shall see presently, he points to them as the sign of his apostleship. In discussing the events at Iconium Luke says, "And granted signs and wonders to be done by their hands." Writing to the Romans Paul dwells upon the success of his work, saying that this was accomplished "through mighty signs and wonders." Addressing the Corinthians he says (II Cor. 12: 12), "Truly the signs of an Apostle were wrought among you in all patience in signs and wonders, and mighty deeds." In Hebrews 2: 4, the writer makes this general reference to the work of the early preachers, "God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders and with divers miracles."

These "wonders" we will divide into two classes, in so far as they have to do with Paul: 1. Those which happened to the Apostle. 2. Those which were performed by the Apostle. The first of these under section 1 narrates the vision which Paul had in the Temple in Jerusalem. Luke states that Paul came back from Damascus and entered the Temple to worship. Here he had a vision of the Master who commissioned His young disciple to go "far hence unto the Gentiles." The second concerns Paul and Silas in jail in Philippi. Because of the complaint of certain people that the Apostles were interfering with their lawful gains, a riot was caused and the missionaries found themselves before the rulers who shut them up in prison. Luke narrates the story of what happened in Acts 16. In verse 26 he says: "And suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison were shaken: and immediately all the doors were opened, and every one's bands were loosed." There are many who claim that this was a "natural" event; but the church has always considered that God intervened miraculously on behalf of His two faithful servants.

Paul had two other visions to which we will make brief reference. During his confinement in Jerusalem, before

being transferred to Cæsarea he had a vision and a very cheering message to the effect that, as he had borne witness in Jerusalem, so should he also bear witness in Rome. Again, we read, that on the journey to Rome, Paul was visited by an angel and was given a very reassuring message. In Acts 27:23, 24, Luke writes:

"For there stood by me this night the angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, saying, Fear not, Paul; thou must be brought before Cæsar: and, lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee."

There is contained also in Acts the story of another visitation which we will consider now at some length. In a previous chapter we have taken the story literally. Christ appeared to Paul as he journeyed to Damascus. Paul believed that he had seen the Master, not Jesus in His earthly body, but in His glorified, risen body. His belief in that appearance changed his whole life. Scholars of rationalistic tendencies have tried to explain away the supernatural in Paul's conversion. Some would look upon him as the victim of his own imagination; others would prefer to see in this event a vision instead of a visitation; still others would explain the whole incident as a fable, invented by Paul's defenders as an offset to Peter's vision. The Church has always appealed to this event as the final and irresistible evidence of the resurrection of Jesus. Thus Paul, himself, always conceived it. "Last of all, he appeared to me, also, as one born out of due time."

Paul was not an untutored man, incapable of distinguishing between the natural and the miraculous. He was a man of trained mind, trained in the logic of Jewish legalism. Further, he was no friend of Christianity. On the contrary, he was its most bitter antagonist. By this astonishing event his whole life and all his prospects were changed. So real was the appearance of Christ that he turned his back upon all that he had been before, and to his latest day he never hesitated in believing that he had seen the Master. He met a martyr's death as the penalty of his unfaltering faith.

In his letters to the churches there is no trace of a fanatical temperament.

Modern critics of the conversion of the Apostle have come to see the force of this argument. They are now willing to admit that Paul believed he heard and saw the risen Saviour; but they would explain his experience on psychological grounds. The very excess of his feelings against Christianity, they claim, had left him open to such an experience. In his bitter fight with the disciples he had to learn the whole story of Jesus' life and death. The problem centred, as he soon saw, in the resurrection. The resurrection from the dead would not trouble Paul who was an ardent Pharisee. If he were only sure that Jesus had come forth from the tomb, Paul's opposition would soon be ended. Stephen's heroism and his wonderful spirit had supplied the gravest doubt of Paul's present position. On the way to Damascus he encountered a thunder storm and in his nervous state he had a vision and thought he had seen Christ.

It is all very plausible but will not fit the facts. A man does not risk his life for a vision. Paul claimed to be an Apostle. Now, the qualification for this high office was that one must have seen Christ in His glorified body. How, otherwise, could he testify to the resurrection, the crowning argument that Jesus was what He claimed to be? Paul believed he saw the Christ. It was not a vision but a reality. Paul and Luke both knew the difference. Peter's vision was not reality. It was a vision that Ananias had had. Later on Paul had visions; but this appearance was reality. So Paul believed and so he said.

Not only were miracles wrought upon Paul; he himself performed miracles. The first of these is narrated by Luke in Acts 13: 6–12. On the island of Cyprus Paul and Barnabas found a Jewish sorcerer by the name of Bar-Jesus, sometimes known as Elymas. He had made some impression upon Sergius Paulus, the ruler of the island, and was with him when the missionaries came to explain the Gospel to the Roman. The sorcerer was anxious about his position of influence and gain, and tried to interfere. Paul, according to Luke, set his eyes upon him and said, " O full of all subtilty

and all mischief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, . . . behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thee and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun for a season. And immediately there fell on him a mist and a darkness; and he went about seeking some one to lead him by the hand." Sergius Paulus was impressed and accepted Christ.

Luke tells another incident of Paul's miraculous powers in Acts 14: 8–10. He says:

"And there sat a certain man at Lystra, impotent in his feet, being a cripple from his mother's womb, who never had walked. The same heard Paul speak: who steadfastly beholding him, and perceiving that he had faith to be healed, said with a loud voice, Stand upright on thy feet, and he leaped and walked."

The people believed the gods had come down to earth.

These two miracles had a beneficial effect: In the one case an important personage was converted, and in the other great excitement and favourable comment were caused by Paul's powers. The next incident shows a miracle which caused him much trouble. This is narrated in Acts 16: 16–18. It tells of a damsel with a spirit of divination. She was troubling the missionaries in their work and Paul commanded the spirit to depart from her. Her employers were angered and caused Paul and Silas to be thrown into prison.

The next miracle, or series of miracles, we find reported by the historian in Acts 19: 11–12. He writes that in Ephesus the sick and the demoniacs were healed by the application of handkerchiefs or aprons which had touched the body of the Apostle. Paul, himself, does not refer to this and it seems impossible to understand it on any other grounds than that he believed, if he knew of the circumstances, that the persons had faith to be healed. It is suggested that he was making some concession to Ephesian superstition. Ephesus was the centre of the practice of magic in Asia Minor.

The next miracle has been frequently explained on natural grounds and may reasonably be so interpreted. Paul was

preaching in Troas and the hour was late. A young man, named Eutychus, was sitting in the open window. Falling asleep, he tumbled to the ground below and was taken up for dead. Paul rushed down and said to those crowding about the victim, "Trouble not yourselves, for his life is in him." From the way the story is told by Luke it is quite possible to take the interpretation that the young man was only stunned and, by the time the Apostle reached the scene, was already beginning to breathe again.

Another story often considered a miracle is also open to explanation on other grounds. It has to do with the viper which fastened itself on Paul's hand on the island of Melita. Paul shook off the viper and felt no harm. We have no certain knowledge that it was venomous and, if it were, we have no intimation that it sent any of its venom into the Apostle's veins.

Two other miracles remain to us. The first of these is narrated by Luke in Acts 28: 8, "The father of Publius lay sick of a fever and of a bloody flux: to whom Paul entered in, and prayed and laid his hands on him, and healed him." The other is told in the succeeding verse. "So when this was done, others also, which had diseases in the island, came, and were healed." Publius was the ruler of Melita. He and his people had been very kind to Paul and his companions, and were thus repaid for what they had done.

Thus, it seems clear that Paul used miracles in his missionary work, though sparingly. So far as we can judge, they had little influence in attracting those who afterwards became converts. There were some, like Sergius Paulus in the first miracle, who accepted Christ: but it would appear that there were not many. Ramsay gives it as his opinion that the miracles were not efficacious in spreading the new religion. Only in Ephesus are we informed of a large ingathering through miracles. In one case, at least, as we have seen, this gift of the Apostle caused him trouble.

It seems clear that Paul did not parade his powers. Like his Master he refused to use them to persuade people to receive his teaching. Jesus was careful to instruct His disciples that the performance of a miracle was not the most

important function of a disciple. He said to them on one occasion, "Howbeit in this rejoice not that spirits are subject unto you; but rejoice that your names are written in heaven." On another occasion He rebuked those disciples who would have called down fire from heaven upon an offending Samaritan village.

While it is clear that Paul did not convert many people by the use of miracles, it is also clear that they helped to attract people to him, so that he could preach to them. The knowledge that he had miraculous powers helped to swell his audiences, as it did in the case of Jesus and Peter. People were anxious to see this man who could do wondrous things. Perhaps a miracle might be performed in their presence. In the case of Jesus, a miracle was a proof of His divine power. It was the seal of God's sanction. So it was with Paul. Sergius Paulus was persuaded that this man was approved of God. So were the heathen at Lystra and at other places.

Paul looked upon his miraculous powers from the same view-point. At the Council of Jerusalem, both he and Barnabas urged this interpretation. The question at issue there was that of the right or wrong attitude of the Gospel of Paul. He insisted that the power of doing signs and wonders was the seal of God that his attitude was right. On this ground he received the right hand of fellowship and of approval. The missionaries to the Gentiles might have argued their point from the words of Jesus, "Whosoever cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out." They could have contended that the Gospel was for the whole world and transcended race and caste and creed. That is what we would have done. They might have pointed to the type of Christianity produced among the Gentiles; they might have referred to their own zeal in the work. They did none of these things; they merely showed that God had approved their works by signs and wonders.

To the Gentiles, a miracle would have a different meaning from that which it conveyed to the Israelites. To the Jew it was a question as to whether the Gospel of inclusion was acceptable to God; to the Gentile, it would be a question as to whether Jesus was as powerful as the gods of the

heathen. In other words, it would appear as a contest like that of Elijah against the priests of Baal. Luke seems to imply, though he does not so state, that Paul only wrought miracles after he had broken away from the synagogue. Belief in the power of gods and of evil spirits was everywhere prevalent in the Gentile world. Demons were everywhere. Everybody believed in them. Paul's Gentile audiences were born and brought up in a background of religious dread. If the Apostle was able to cast out these demons it would prove that Jesus had power over the evil spirits. Paul's victory would be the victory of his Master. It strikes us as incongruous that Jesus should thus be pitted in competition with the magic workers of the East, with the heathen as judges of the conflict. This criticism has sometimes been made even by those who do not hesitate to accept the miracles of Paul.

Roland Allen, discussing this question in his book, "Missionary Methods," suggests that we might well copy this method of Paul to-day. He mentions the fact that we do not hesitate to call attention to the superiority of our medical practice over the incantations of heathen doctors. We challenge comparison and declare that under the teaching of Christ the secrets of healing have been revealed. Christ has given us the mastery over diseases. Allen claims that the reason such comparison is odious to our minds is to be found in the fact that we know the wonders of the heathen priests and medicine men to be deceptions. He argues that the heathen to-day live in the same background of the prevalence of demons, in which the Gentiles of Paul's day lived, and he claims that the same procedure would have the same results to-day. Let the missionary show, he says, that the power of Jesus is greater than that of the demons; then let the Spirit of the Master gradually dispel belief in them.

May we conclude by suggesting, as Allen does in the book to which we have already referred, that the miracles of Paul are "sermons in Acts." That is to say, they are illustrations of the kind of religion Jesus taught. The essential doctrines of Christianity were preached also by the miracles which were performed. At the Beautiful Gate of the Tem-

ple, Peter and John healed the impotent man. It was not only a service of love in the name of "Jesus of Nazareth"; it was a symbolic act. He was delivered from the power that held him in bondage. People believed his infirmity was the result of sin. It might have been the result of his own sin or that of his parents. We are not arguing that point here. His deliverance was the deliverance in the name of Jesus, and by the power of Jesus from the power of evil. In all Paul's teaching you find that Jesus sets us free from the power of sin. He becomes in us a new principle by which we can overcome sin. This is the new birth. The miracle is only an acted parable of this fact.

Further it is the power of love that is exemplified, love as lived by Christ and by the Apostles, taught by them and practiced by them. The power of the Apostles was through the Spirit of Jesus and was only an example of the working out of this love. Paul said, "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." In his own most beautiful passage he shows how the idea may be worked out:

"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not love, I am nothing."

Many people to-day seem troubled about the miracles of the Apostles. Many seem unable to accept the plain statements made by Luke and Paul. The great Apostle to the Gentiles speaks as if others besides himself received this miraculous power. He says, "Are all workers of miracles?" This certainly implies that others, besides himself, were possessors of the same gift. Paul strikes the key-note in this matter of belief in miracles. Speaking before Agrippa he said, "Why should it be thought a thing incredible that God should raise the dead?" Why, indeed? Why should it be thought a thing incredible that God, through His chosen followers, should do mighty signs and wonders?

XIV

A JOURNEY TO ROME

"Unto Cæsar shalt thou go."

WE have seen that Festus, the new Governor of Syria, attempting to placate his Jewish subjects in Jerusalem, was willing that his prisoner, Paul, should be sent to the Jewish capital for trial. To make the proposition more attractive to the mind of the Apostle, he promised that he, himself, would journey to the city and personally conduct the affair. He promised further to see that justice was done. But Paul understood the temper of the Sanhedrin better than did the Governor. He therefore appealed unto Cæsar. Festus conferred with his associates and advisers and, when he was persuaded that the missionary was well within his rights as a Roman citizen, he allowed the appeal and gave his decision that the prisoner must make the journey to Rome.

The Governor, however, found himself in a difficulty. It was necessary that along with the prisoner, there must be transmitted to the Imperial Court at Rome a transcript of the charges preferred against him. Since these were not political but entirely religious, a matter of beliefs and of the interpretation of the Jewish Law, Festus found it all but impossible to record them in such a manner that they would be intelligible to the Roman court. In this dilemma he availed himself of an opportunity that presented itself in the visit of Agrippa and his sister Bernice. Agrippa was a Jewish prince, king of a region to the north of Judæa. He had come down to Cæsarea to pay his respects to the new Governor. Festus took the King into his confidence and told him of his difficulty in the case of Paul, the Jewish prisoner.

Doubtless he gave Agrippa all the information he had about the case up to that time. Agrippa was a Jew and had doubtless heard of Jesus and of Paul. The latter's enemies were so widely scattered that his name was known to all the Jews. The King was anxious to see Paul in person and to hear him speak. The Apostle was therefore brought into the council chamber, into the presence of Festus, Agrippa and Bernice. The Governor publicly expressed to his guests the difficulty in which he was placed and he referred the whole matter, since it concerned the Jews, to the better judgment of the King.

Having received permission to speak in his own defense, Paul addressed the gathering. As we shall see later, he spoke to Agrippa in particular. This speech is given by Luke in Acts, chapter 26. Paul spoke of the manner of his conversion from a persecutor to a believer in Jesus as Messiah. Taking for granted that Agrippa, as a Jew, was familiar with the customs of the Jewish people, the speaker referred to the fact that he had been brought up in Tarsus, in the home of a strict Pharisee. The manner of his life as a youth in Jerusalem was well known to all the Jews. He pointed out to Agrippa that Jesus as Messiah had fulfilled the long expectations of his countrymen; that the resurrection of Jesus from the dead was the seal of that Messiahship. In this faith, which he had consistently preached, Paul showed that he had not been disloyal to the faith of his fathers. He had hoped for the coming of the Messiah, even as his enemies and accusers had hoped; but whereas he had believed, because God had given him a special revelation on the road to Damascus, they had refused to believe. Paul then recounted the story of his conversion with which we have dealt in a previous chapter. Since that memorable day when the Lord had appeared unto him he had made it his business to proclaim to all men "that they should repent and turn to God and do works meet for repentance." He then proceeded to show that the sufferings of Christ were in agreement with the words of Moses and of the Prophets. These had taught not only that the Messiah should suffer, but that He should rise from

the dead, and that He should become a light unto the Gentiles.

At this point Festus, the Governor, discourteously interrupted the Apostle. He evidently thought that the long confinement of more than two years, and the intensive study during that period, had deranged his mind. He therefore said to the Apostle in a loud voice, "Paul, thou art beside thyself; much learning doth make thee mad." Paul digressed long enough from his speech in his defense to reply to Festus with much dignity, "I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness." Then, proceeding with his address, he turned to the King and appealed to his Jewish training in these words, "King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest." The reply of the King, in the words as quoted by Luke, are generally taken to mean that this stirring plea was having a very wholesome and beneficial effect upon Agrippa, but that he was not willing to go the whole way in the matter of belief. He said, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." But it would appear rather that the King was indulging in ironical speech. His reputation was not such as to lead us to think that he would be almost persuaded by a single plea of the Apostle. He said in substance, "You are attempting to persuade me to be a Christian but you are having little effect." Paul evidently considered, for the time at least, that Agrippa was in earnest, for he said that he would to God that not only he, but that all who heard him, might be fully persuaded to believe in Jesus as the Christ. This speech seems to have ended the conference. Festus and Agrippa consulted together and came to the conclusion that Paul had done nothing worthy of death or imprisonment. The final decision of the King, in whose hands the case of the Apostle was placed, is given by the historian thus, "This man might have been set at liberty if he had not appealed unto Cæsar."

It is difficult for us to understand just why Paul did appeal unto Cæsar. During all his imprisonment thus far he had had no formal trial. Felix had kept him in bonds, but had made it quite plain that there was no real cause

for holding him. His reason, doubtless, was in some measure to please the Jews; but the main consideration was the hope of ransom money either from Paul, himself, or from some other. When his successor, Festus, came upon the scene, the main difficulty was with the Jews. The new Governor had a reputation for honesty and fair dealing. At least he was much better than his predecessor, and there seems little doubt that, had Paul taken Festus at his word and gone to Jerusalem, the latter would have given him a fair trial. He must have been acquitted, for even the animosity of the Jews could not bring a reasonable charge against him. There is evidence in Acts and in the Epistle to the Romans that Paul was anxious to visit Rome. He wished to round out a complete witness for his Master by appearing in the capital of the Empire and in Spain. Perhaps he considered that this way was the only means left to him of carrying out his great design. If he desired to go to Rome, why not be tried in Rome?

A considerable time necessarily elapsed before arrangements could be made for the journey. It was not easy to find transportation from Cæsarea, since it was off the main routes of travel east and west. At length a ship was found sailing north to the coast of Asia Minor. Paul was sent away in the company of other prisoners, and in charge of a Roman centurion named Julius. Luke, the companion of Paul and the historian of his travels, was permitted to accompany him. The account of the journey which Luke includes in the Acts was, therefore, written down by an eyewitness of the events which he describes, and is minute and detailed. This story—the story of the journey to Rome—has been submitted to a very searching investigation by several scholars, including Howson. This writer has collaborated with Conybeare in an elaborate work on Paul and his missionary journeys. The former was responsible among other things for the geographical portion of their work and has closely scrutinized this journey of the Apostle and the historian's account of it. His verdict was that the course of the journey had been given by Luke with great certainty and that the whole account was careful and accurate, writ-

ten down by a man who, though he was not of the sea, was perfectly at home in writing about the sea.

There was in the company, also, another devoted friend and companion of the Apostle, Aristarchus of Thessalonica. Professor Ramsay is of the opinion that both Luke and Aristarchus must have gone as slaves of Paul. He holds that otherwise they would not have been permitted to accompany him. They might have gone this way, for they were devoted friends; but consideration in this matter should be given to the fact that the Roman centurion, Julius, proved himself a very humane and considerate jailer. He treated Paul with every kindness and consideration and permitted him liberties not often given to prisoners. Among these considerations might well be placed the permission for these two companions to accompany him. Indeed, in several matters he allowed his prisoner to take complete command of the situation.

The party embarked at Cæsarea on the ship of Adramyttium which, Luke informs us, was homeward bound. The expectation was that somewhere along the coast of Asia Minor another ship would be found on which they could take passage for Rome. Upon the day following their departure, they called at the port of Sidon. Here Julius permitted Paul to go ashore to visit friends. This was the first of many favours he was to receive upon the journey. From Sidon they sailed to Myra in Lycia. Here the prisoners were transferred to another ship, a grain boat, on its way from Alexandria to Italy. This was a large vessel, though perhaps we would not consider it so to-day. Few of us would care to risk a journey in her, along the Mediterranean in the fall of the year. Still, she was a large ship in that day, a vessel of some five hundred tons burden, carrying two hundred and seventy-six passengers, as well as a cargo of wheat in the hold. The course was steered along the coast of Asia Minor, until they came near to Cnidus, thence southward to Crete and along its southern shore to the harbour of Fair Havens.

Luke says the feast time was past. What he means to imply is that the season was well advanced beyond the fall

equinox, perhaps some time in October. At this season of the year storms are frequent and sailing dangerous. It became a serious question as to what was to be done. Paul advised that the vessel winter where it was. Evidently the owner and the captain were of a different opinion, and they advised that they seek a better and a larger harbour before settling down for the winter. In other circumstances the centurion was willing to take the advice of his prisoner rather than that of the owner and the captain of the ship; but, since this was a matter of seamanship and experience of the Mediterranean, he decided that the master's wish should rule. Along the same coast of Crete, not far to the westward, was another harbour, Phenice. The shelter of this harbour was never reached. A violent storm descended upon them from the northeast and drove the vessel far out to sea. The sailors were afraid that they would be driven on the coast of Africa. For fifteen days the storm raged, whipping the sea into angry foam. The ship tossed helplessly in the waves and the sailors knew not whither they were drifting, for the sky was overcast and the crew were not able to get their bearings by sun or stars. There was no compass to guide them during the storm.

Luke informs us that in this crisis the Apostle was visited by an angel who came to him in a dream. The heavenly visitor assured Paul that not only would he reach Rome in safety but that all those on board would be saved. Upon the day following this visitation, Paul encouraged the crew and passengers and announced that all would reach their destination in safety, but only after having been cast upon an island. Whether the latter part of this information had been obtained from the angel, or whether it was a prophecy on the Apostle's own responsibility, we are not sure. We shall see that, in either case, future events proved that he was right.

A very interesting incident happened during the night of the fourteenth day of this desperate encounter with the sea, an event which shows the Apostle as the guiding spirit on board the ship. The sailors had formed a plot to desert the vessel, planning to leave in the lifeboat. They thought they

were near to land and believed that they would have a far better chance for safety in the small boat than in the ship. In pursuance of this design they announced that they were going out in the boat to affix anchors to the forepart of the vessel. In some way Paul learned of the plot and exposed it to the centurion. Julius ordered the ropes that held the lifeboat cut and it fell into the sea and was lost.

Another incident that followed rapidly upon the cutting down of the lifeboat shows us how practical was the mind of this enthusiastic missionary. Paul advised that every one on board should partake of food. Possibly the feeling that land was near had spread from the crew to the soldiers and prisoners. Luke quotes the Apostle as saying that those on board had been fasting for a period of fourteen days, the entire period of the storm. Possibly the Apostle thought of the immediate future and knew that every one would have a better chance for safety if he faced the crisis having partaken of food. The shipwreck which he had foretold was near at hand. Luke puts the matter thus: "While the day was coming on, Paul besought them all to take meat, saying, This day is the fourteenth day that ye have tarried and continued fasting, having taken nothing. Wherefore I pray you to take some meat; for this is for your health; for there shall not any hair fall from the head of any of you. And when he had thus spoken he took bread and gave thanks to God in the presence of them all; and when he had broken it he began to eat. Then were they all of good cheer and they also took some meat."

Their judgment that land was near proved to be correct. Everything movable, as well as the cargo of wheat, was thrown from the ship, that she might strike ground the farther up upon the beach. In the morning land was sighted. This land was unknown to them, but they saw a creek for which they steered. With anchors lifted, and with all sail set, they made for the shore. The ship grounded in a place "where two seas met," and began to break up by the violence of the sea. The soldiers advised that the prisoners be killed; but the centurion, "willing to save Paul," overruled them. He decided to take the chance that his

charges would not escape. Doubtless he had been influenced by the assurance of Paul. There followed a wild scramble to reach the shore. Not a person was drowned, nor did a single prisoner escape. Luke graphically describes this stirring scene in two short verses in Acts 27:

"But the centurion, willing to save Paul, kept them from their purpose; and commanded that they which could swim should cast themselves into the sea and get to land; and the rest, some on boards and some on broken pieces of the ship, and so it came to pass that they escaped all safe to land."

They had landed on an island which Luke calls Melita. This has been identified as Malta which lies south of Sicily. In his book, "The Voyage and Shipwreck of Paul," James Smith shows that the island and bay, which is called St. Paul's Bay, and lies on the north side of the island, fit the circumstances as described by Luke in Acts. These Maltese Islanders received the shipwrecked passengers and crew with "no little kindness." Soon a great fire was blazing upon the shore, to warm them and to dry their clothes. Luke includes a curious story which shows the superstition of these inhabitants of Melita. Evidently Paul took a foremost part in gathering wood to replenish the fire. This wood was piled in bundles in close proximity to the blaze. As Paul took hold of a stick to cast it on the fire, a viper fastened itself upon his hand or arm. It was evidently of a venomous type, for the islanders expected to see him fall dead from its poison. They thought among themselves that this man must be a murderer, "whom, though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to live." Though Paul was not in chains, there may have been something that marked him out as a prisoner. The islanders, probably, had learned that certain of their visitors were being conveyed to Rome as malefactors. The viper, however, was shaken off and Paul felt no harm. These superstitious islanders, thereupon, jumped to the conclusion that he was a god. This story has been questioned on the

grounds that there are no poisonous snakes in Malta. That does not prove that there were none in the first Christian century. Many a place that once was infested with poisonous reptiles is troubled with them no more. There is no need to make of this story something miraculous. We do not know that the snake was of a deadly type. We do not know that it set its fangs into the Apostle's hand or arm. Even if the snake were of a poisonous kind, Paul was not the first nor the last who has had such upon his person without suffering any serious results.

Luke refers to the islanders as barbarians; but it was customary for the Greek to refer to the rest of the world as "the Barbarians." The island had long been in the possession of Rome, belonging to the province of Sicily, and was inhabited by people of Phœnician blood. The Roman official was named Publius and he personally entertained the sufferers for three days. The rest of the winter was spent upon the island and when navigation was opened, the journey was resumed. If the expedition had been undertaken some time in October, it was probably the first of November when the ship was wrecked upon the shore of Malta. The journey was thus resumed, perhaps, in February. The "no little kindness" was continued during the entire visit and was repaid, in part at least, by Paul. He healed the father of Publius, as well as many others of the inhabitants who suffered from disease. When the time drew near that the journey should be renewed, the enforced visitors were fitted out by the charitable islanders. The prisoners were put upon another Alexandrian ship, which had wintered in one of the harbours of the island. The vessel touched at Syracuse and Rhegium and sailed through the Straits of Messina to Puteoli on the west coast of Italy, south of Rome.

Some evidence of the spread of Christianity in Italy is furnished by Luke's information that there was a Christian colony at Puteoli. They desired Paul and his two friends to visit with them, and they remained there seven days. Perhaps nothing in the entire journey shows the kindness and patience of Julius more than this fact that, after a tedious journey of many months, he would patiently wait,

almost within sight of the city, while his prisoner preached to the Christians at Puteoli. The journey from here to Rome, some one hundred and thirty miles, was made by land. It would appear that it was the custom of travellers from the East to come by ship to Puteoli and to proceed from there to Rome by the land route. Josephus mentions this route in several instances.

While visiting with the brethren at Puteoli, word of the coming of the great Apostle was forwarded to Rome. Some of the Christians came out to meet him. Luke refers to one party which travelled forty miles to the Forum of Apius, and of another which awaited him at "the Three Taverns," some thirty miles from Rome. This kindly interest on the part of the Roman Christians was a source of great comfort and inspiration to the weary Apostle. Luke says in Acts 26:

"And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us as far as the Apii forum and The Three Taverns; whom, when Paul saw, he thanked God and took courage."

Among these were many old friends. Luke tells the story of Paul's meeting with them, in ten short words. One can only imagine the joy with which the Apostle would greet again his old companions, Aquila and Priscilla. In our brief discussion of the Epistle to the Romans we stated it as our opinion that chapter sixteen belongs to the letter. This is disputed largely on the grounds that Paul could not have known so many people in Rome where he had never been; but all roads led to the Eternal City and the age of the Apostle was an age of travel. Many of those who had been associated with him in the great cities of the East may have gone to Rome. Paul had travelled extensively and would have learned the names of many others resident in Rome, whom he had never personally met. There is nothing strange in a man's sending personal greetings to people whom he had never seen, but of whom he had often heard, who were engaged in the same work as himself. Some of these old friends, and those who were only friends by means of a

common bond of work, may have been among those who came from the city to welcome the great missionary. Perhaps Aquila and Priscilla were among them. They had gone from Rome to Corinth when the Jews had been expelled by Claudius. We have seen how useful they were to Paul in the Greek city. From there they had accompanied him to Ephesus. It would appear that they had returned to Rome while Paul was in Jerusalem and Cæsarea. By this time the edict of expulsion had been annulled. Their presence with the Apostle as he entered the city where he had longed to come, but not in bonds, would be to him a great joy.

XV

THE END OF THE ROAD

"For me to live is Christ, to die is gain."

WHEN Paul entered Rome he was still, doubtless, in charge of Julius and his Roman soldiers. They probably conducted him to the barracks of the Prætorian guard. This would seem to be the inference from Philippians 1: 13. These barracks, or palaces, as Paul calls them, were erected in the reign of Tiberius, and there the Prætorians were quartered. They were the picked troops of the Empire and were given many special privileges, including double pay. The head of the guard at this time was Afranius Burrus, a noble minded and educated Roman, according to the historian Tacitus. To him Julius handed over his prisoner with a report of the journey and of the splendid courage and deportment of his charge during the voyage. Perhaps he expressed his belief in the innocence of Paul and recommended him to the clemency of the Prefect. It was not possible for Burrus to grant his prisoner liberty, but he had the power to make his confinement less rigorous and exacting. He permitted him to live in his own private house in the city, but with an attendant soldier to whom the prisoner must at all times be chained. This, so far as we know, was the only sign of his imprisonment. Since Paul had no money of his own and was not now permitted to support himself by working at his trade, the expense was possibly borne by his many friends in the city and by contributions from outside sources. This would be little enough service from those who loved him so dearly. The house was large enough for Paul to use as a church and here he preached to all who would come to listen. Here, too, he wrote many letters to the churches.

Paul lost no time in making his preparations to carry on his evangelistic work. It would take two or three days, at least, to make the necessary arrangements for his incarceration under special privileges. As soon as these were concluded and he was established in his abode, he sent for the leading Jews of the city to visit him. From this action we see that it was the Apostle's lifelong habit to preach to the "Jew, first." Paul was anxious to explain his present situation and to anticipate the evil reports which, he knew well, would follow him from Jerusalem, if, indeed, they had not already arrived. Paul's name was evidently well known to the Jews in Rome, for they did not hesitate to accept his invitation. They reported that they had not received letters from the East, nor had any evil reports concerning him reached them. Presumably this information referred to the circumstances which had led up to his present appearance in Rome, in bonds. There is little doubt but that they had heard of his manner of life and work, and of his reputed antagonism to the Jewish faith. These reports would not lose anything in the telling and Paul's reputation must have been somewhat unsavoury to his countrymen in Rome. When these leaders of the Jewish colony arrived, he pointed out that his only crime had been his preaching of Jesus as the expected Messiah. It was "for the hope of Israel" that he appeared in chains. The visitors did not seem particularly antagonistic, but they informed Paul that this sect of Christians to which he adhered was "everywhere spoken against." Nevertheless, they set a day when they could hear him at length concerning his beliefs and the Gospel he preached.

When that day arrived, a large number of them assembled to give him audience. From morning until evening the great preacher expounded the Scriptures, proving, both from Moses and from the prophets, that Jesus was the Christ. Some believed; others went away as full of prejudice and bigotry as they had come; but they did not leave without receiving a warning from the preacher. With great dignity Paul repeated the message which Isaiah had been commissioned of God to deliver to an earlier age:

"Well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet unto our fathers, saying, Go unto this people and say, Hearing, ye shall hear and shall not understand; and seeing, ye shall see and not perceive; for the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their eyes and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and should be converted and I should heal them. Be it known, therefore, unto you, that the salvation of God is sent unto the Gentiles, and that they will hear it."

At this point in the story Luke's narrative ends abruptly. Concerning the rest of Paul's work in Rome, he contents himself with the brief statement that he preached for two years in his private house. The facts about his life, from now on to the end of the road, must be pieced together from allusions in Epistles and from the traditions of the Church. It seems strange that Luke, who remained with Paul through the whole of this trying period, who knew so intimately, and at first hand, the events that happened in Rome, should thus abruptly end his narrative and leave us groping in the dark. But we should bear in mind that in his "Acts of the Apostles," the writer is not presenting a history of the life of Paul. He is not writing a biography. He has his own very definite plan. Beginning with the first days in Jerusalem, he desires to carry forward the story of the expansion of the Church from the place of its origin, throughout the Empire to the capital city. He picks up the story of Paul just where he enters into this plan and carries forward that story until he has preached in Rome. When the Apostle enters the Eternal City, the work of the historian is finished. There seems also to be a further purpose in the mind of Luke. He is anxious to make a favourable impression upon the Roman. It was not the Romans who had put Jesus to death but the Jews. It is true that Pilate had given the order for the crucifixion of the Master, but he had done so only on the insistent pressure of the fanatical Jews. Following this idea, the historian stops before he comes to the place where the Romans had beheaded the chief disciple of Jesus.

During these two years of which Luke speaks, the Apostle was bound by a chain to a Roman soldier; but "the word of God was not bound." When we examine the Epistles that belong to this period, we find many references to his work. He writes to the Philippians, that his enforced stay in Rome has advanced the Gospel. He tells them that he preached "with all boldness," and that this encouraged the other evangelists in the city to renewed zeal. There was always at least one soldier in any audience of the Apostle and, since the guard was changed at frequent intervals, many of the Prætorian soldiers came under his influence. These, in turn, carried back to the barracks the word which he preached. It is true here, as it has always been with all preaching, that we cannot keep the books and measure up what has been accomplished. If there were 7000 in Israel who had not bowed the knee to Baal, we may be sure there were many in the Prætorian barracks, after two years, who had turned to Christ. As a stone tossed into a pool begins with the disturbance of the water at the point of entry and as this "bubbling of the waters" widens out in ever enlarging concentric circles, so the word preached has an ever widening influence as the days and the years pass by. Even Cæsar's household was reached during this campaign in Rome. Even before the coming of Paul the Gospel had laid hold upon at least one lady of prominence there, Pomponia Græcina, the wife of the conqueror of Britain. Other names are mentioned, also, in the list of martyrs of the church. Chrysostom speaks of one of Nero's cup-bearers who believed, and who died for his faith. Tradition tells us that Seneca, the Philosopher, also turned to Christ. Since he was the intimate friend of Burrus he may have been influenced at this time by Paul. There is, however, no historical evidence of his conversion.

Not only was Paul busy preaching to all who would come to hear him; he also wrote many letters during this period of his first imprisonment in Rome. He had many friends with him, men of whom he speaks from time to time. Some of them were despatched with letters to the churches and to individuals also. These letters, Ephesians, Colossians, Phi-

lippians, Philemon and the Pastoral Epistles will be discussed in succeeding chapters. Meanwhile it will be sufficient to state that we are dealing with Paul's history on the understanding that the Pastorals were written by Paul, substantially, if not exactly, as we have them now. The acceptance of this position involves two imprisonments in Rome, with a period of liberty in between them. The evidence in the matter will be discussed at a later time. We will proceed, meanwhile, to carry forward the story to the closing scenes of the Apostle's life.

The first trial before Nero would naturally be delayed. When Paul called the leading Jews to him in his hired house, they said that they had received no letters from Judæa. They further stated that they had had no evil reports of him. It is evident, therefore, that his accusers had not yet arrived. Since Paul was delayed some months on his journey to Rome, it would appear that those who were appointed to prosecute the case had decided not to set out until spring. Thus they would hardly reach the city before summer or early autumn. The trial would not go on until the accusers arrived. Even after their arrival the whole matter might be indefinitely delayed at the caprice of the Emperor. According to the law, the prosecutor must be given time to gather his witnesses together and these, too, would have to make the long journey to Rome. Luke says that Paul preached in his hired house for a period of two years. It would appear from all the circumstances that the first trial before Nero took place at the expiration of this time.

Of the trial itself, we have no direct evidence. We do not know whether Paul appeared before Nero, or before some of his judges. In civil cases appeals were usually heard by some Roman of high rank, appointed by the Emperor; in those from the criminal courts, the Emperor, himself, acted as judge. It is probable that in the case of Paul, Nero sat upon the judgment seat, surrounded by twenty councilors of rank and influence. Nero was a monster of iniquity. He was a young man of some twenty-five years at this time; but his life had already been a prophecy of what was to

follow. He had murdered his own mother, his wife and her brother. He was devoid of any sense of justice or fair play and became such a bloody and cruel tyrant that he just managed to escape from the fury of his subjects and ended his life at thirty-two, outside the walls of Rome, by plunging a dagger into his own throat.

It is probable that the trial covered a long period of time. By the decree of Nero, a prisoner must be tried separately on each charge against him, and the verdict on one count must be given before the next was entertained. Paul had been accused by the Jews on three distinct charges; first, that he was a disturber of the Jewish religion, the free exercise of which had been guaranteed to the Jews by law; second, that he had desecrated the holy Temple in Jerusalem; third, that he had disturbed the peace of the Empire by causing riot and sedition. In the other trials Paul was given the right to speak in his own defense. We know how courageously he faced the Sanhedrin, Felix, Festus and Agrippa. He was conscious of the fact that he was no malefactor and consequently he was unafraid. We may be sure that here in Rome, also, he conducted himself with all boldness and confidence, strong in the faith that he was the servant of Christ. There is no evidence that he had any defender. The presumption is that he defended himself. We have no record of the trial at all, and the only thing of which we may be reasonably certain is that he was found not guilty of the charges preferred against him. In his letters to Philemon and to the Philippian church, he expressed his confidence that he would be acquitted. It is to be taken for granted that he had reasonable grounds for this confidence. His expressed assurance, and the fact that the Pastoral Epistles cannot be accounted for on any other grounds than those of his acquittal and release, make it fairly certain that he was found not guilty.

The facts of Paul's life following his release may only be surmised. We know that he was anxious to visit Spain; and it is natural to suppose that he turned toward the West immediately after his acquittal. Clement of Rome informs us that Paul " went to the uttermost bounds of the West."

We are simply assuming here that he went to Spain first and then to the East. How long he remained there we do not know. The date usually set for Paul's arrival in Rome is 60 or 61 A. D. If, as Luke suggests, his confinement in his private house occupied two years, he was released in 62 or 63. He probably returned from Spain in 64 or 65.

We must assume, also, that the great missionary followed this visit to Spain with one to the East. There are many allusions in the Pastoral Epistles which will fit no other period of his life. From these letters we learn of another visit to Troas, to Ephesus, to Macedonia, to Miletus, and of a visit to Crete. Since these visits could not have taken place at any period of Paul's life prior to his confinement in Rome, and since we are forced to conclude either that the letters are not Pauline or that the visits of which they speak took place after an acquittal in Rome, the latter alternative is accepted.

Thus the matter is taken as reasonably well established that Paul went west and east though the order of these visits might as well be reversed. He was arrested again a second time but, whether taken in the East or in Spain, we are not sure. Nor is it at all certain what charge was brought against him. It would appear from some references in the Pastorals that the second imprisonment was much more severe than the first. On the first occasion he was permitted the liberty of his own house, though chained to a soldier. This time, according to tradition, he was confined in a dungeon in the Mamertime prison. What caused this change in the attitude of authorities at Rome toward Paul?

It is suggested that the kindness extended to Paul during his first imprisonment was due to Burrus. Burrus was now dead and another, a hireling of Nero, was in his place. But we have no certain knowledge that the prisoner was again handed over to the Prætorian guard. It is just possible that we may find elsewhere the reason for the more severe attitude. In July of the year 64 A. D. Rome suffered from a terrible fire. It is hinted that Nero was himself responsible for the blaze; for he earnestly desired the destruction of a

certain section of the capital, that a city of more splendour might be reared in its place. The fire raged for six days and seven nights and caused frightful destruction. It is said that Nero "fiddled while Rome burned." The cruel tyrant was accused of coming to the window of the tower of Mæcenas, and of looking out upon the destruction, with his face wreathed in smiles. Meanwhile he played upon his musical instrument. He soon found that the people were thoroughly aroused, and that they laid the blame upon their Emperor. To draw a red herring across the trail, Nero accused the Christians of setting fire to the city. Some of them were treated with horrible cruelties. It is reported that they were covered with pitch and set on fire, or sewed in the skins of wild beasts and torn to pieces by the dogs, while Nero gloated over their miseries and treated the whole matter as a joke. It is conjectured that as the leader of this Christian sect, Paul was hunted down, arrested and brought to Rome under the charge that, when previously in the city, he had planned the whole thing. When Paul arrived in Rome the fury of the people had had plenty of time to subside, but he was permitted no liberties.

In the trial which followed it is possible that the Apostle stood before the Prefect of the city. This official was appointed by the Emperor and had supreme authority in all criminal cases. Evidently the trial consisted of two hearings. Of the first Paul wrote to Timothy, "No man stood with me, but all men forsook me. . . . Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me and strengthened me." He mentions the names of several who had forsaken him, Phygelus, Hermogenes and Demas; but we know that Luke was in Rome and Onesiphorus had come all the way from Asia. Some friends in the city, Linus, and Prudens and his wife Claudia, visited him in the dungeon. He longed for the coming of Timothy but whether or not he arrived before the final hearing we do not know.

The fact that so many deserted him in this extremity shows very clearly the peril in which he now stood. There is also the further evidence that he speaks of his death as certain. The end of the road is in sight for the aged Apostle.

How calmly this old hero of the cross awaited death! He writes to Timothy, "I am now ready to be offered and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness which the Lord, the Righteous Judge, shall give to me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love the Lord's appearing."

For the closing scene we are left entirely to tradition. When the trial was concluded each of the judges under the Prefect of the city would write down his verdict upon a tablet, absolvo, I acquit, or damno, I find guilty. When the tablets were collected the Judge pronounced the verdict, condemno. Paul was led back to his cell to be prepared for execution. It is probable that the sentence was carried out without delay. Whether the fact that he was a Roman citizen saved him on this occasion from scourging, seems doubtful. There is a tradition of the Church which affirms that he was bound and scourged. It did save him, at least, from crucifixion, which, tradition says, was the fate of Peter about this time. The date of Paul's execution has been placed by the Church as the twenty-ninth of June, 66 A. D. He was taken outside the city to Acquæ Salvia, the port of Rome, and there beheaded. His body is said to have been buried by the Christians in the Catacombs of Rome. Like Moses of old, no man knows his resting place; no monument was erected where his body was laid to rest. Paul has written his own best epitaph, "For me to live is Christ, to die is gain."

XVI

LETTERS FROM ROME

"Fulfil ye my joy."

PHILEMON

WE have noticed that during his imprisonment in Rome, Paul was busy with his evangelistic work. One of the most interesting of his many converts was a runaway slave from Asia. His name was Onesimus and he belonged to a Christian by the name of Philemon. The latter lived in Colosse but had been converted under Paul's preaching in Ephesus. Onesimus had robbed his master and had fled to Rome. In some way he came under the influence of Paul and of his Gospel. He may have been drawn to seek out the Christians because he had seen so much of them in his master's house. Perhaps in his extremity of poverty in the city, some Christian had befriended him. Possibly he had been with his master in Ephesus and had heard the Apostle preach there. At any rate, he found his way to Paul's house in Rome and there he came to be a believer in Jesus as the Christ of God. Faith in the Lord brought with it a change of life and repentance for the wrong that he had done. He came to Paul and made a complete confession, acknowledging not only that he had run away from his master, but also that he had defrauded him as well. Paul felt himself drawn to this runaway slave in whom he saw the making of a very useful Christian. We read that he desired to keep him in Rome but that he would not do so without the consent of the slave's master.

Paul advised him that there was only one thing to be done. He must return to Colosse to his master. Not only so; a Christian must make restitution for the wrong that he

had done. The stolen money must be returned. We are not told whether the amount was large or small. Whatever it was, we gather that it had been spent. To make this necessary Christian duty less of a burden to the slave, Paul undertook to pay the debt himself. Accordingly he wrote a letter to Philemon and gave it unto the hands of the slave, charging him to go to Colosse and to place it in the hands of his master, at the same time making to him a full and frank confession of what he had done.

This letter is written in a beautiful spirit of Christian forbearance and love and is universally admired for its kindliness. In the opening seven verses Paul speaks in glowing terms of the faith and splendid character of Philemon. He expresses the hope that this faith may communicate itself to others, and that his efforts on behalf of the people of God may bear much fruit. From this he turns to plead with his friend to receive again in the spirit of forbearance his runaway slave. He calls Onesimus the spiritual child of his chains and throws out a very gentle hint that, for the sake of the master's friendship for the Apostle, the slave might be given his freedom. Verses 18 and 19 add a very personal touch. "If he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee ought, put that on mine account (I, Paul, have written it with mine own hand), I will repay it." Very courteously he says that he is sure that Philemon will do even more than the letter suggests. He closes with the hope of paying a visit to his friend in Colosse in the near future. The letter carries the salutation of many of Paul's friends in Rome.

There the story ends as far as any historical evidence is concerned; the slave might well have been afraid to return to the home of one who had not known Christ. It is not only a tribute to the slave, himself, that he was willing to return, but also to the "fruits of the spirit" as exemplified in Philemon. We have every Christian confidence that Onesimus returned and that his owner gave to him his freedom. He may have come to Paul in Rome, to work among his fellows in the city. We have no further record; but it is significant that there is mention many years later of one, Onesmus, who was Bishop in the city of Ephesus.

COLOSSIANS

The Epistle to the Colossians was written at the same time as the short, personal letter to Philemon and for a definite purpose. Certain false doctrines had crept into the church at Colosse and Paul writes to counteract them. Epaphras had come to Rome to enlist the aid of Paul in his war on false teachers and false doctrines. He had been the founder of the church at Colosse, having been converted by the Apostle's preaching at Ephesus. Returning to Colosse he had been instrumental in laying the foundations of a church in his own city and had been aided by Philemon in whose house the congregation evidently worshipped. Epaphras had been arrested in Rome and Paul refers to him as his fellow-prisoner there. The letter which Paul wrote in answer to the request of Epaphras was sent forward by the hands of Tychicus who departed for the East along with Onesimus. In this letter there is reference to both messengers in the following words, "All that concerns me will be made known to you by Tychicus, my beloved brother—whom I have sent to you for this very end, with Onesimus the faithful and beloved brother." In the letter to the Ephesians there is a similar reference to Tychicus but none to the runaway slave. We would gather from this fact that Tychicus and Onesimus took ship for Cæsarea. From there they proceeded overland to Colosse where the letter was presented to the church. Onesimus remained with his master, Philemon, and Tychicus proceeded to Ephesus to deliver Paul's letter to the Ephesians.

So far as we know, Paul was unknown by face to the church at Colosse. At the close of his last tour of inspection of the churches in Galatia and Phrygia, he hastened to Ephesus. It is possible that he passed through Colosse, but so far as we have any record he never preached there. There is no mention in his letters of a missionary work. This letter and the Epistle to the Romans are the only messages we have from the hand of the Apostle to churches which he had not founded. In the course of this Epistle Paul requests that, when the church at Colosse has finished its

perusal, it be forwarded to the Laodiceans. He infers that he has written a letter to them which, in turn, will be forwarded to the Colossians.

This is the first time that Paul had encountered and had been called upon to condemn that peculiar type of heresy which we call Gnosticism. In later years it became very prevalent in the East. In his letter to the Galatians and in other letters also, he was forced to defend his Gospel against those Judaisers who would make his converts conform to the legalism of the Jews. In the letters to the Thessalonians he had to guard against an overemphasis of his eschatological teaching. In the letter to the Corinthians he attacked their love of "wisdom" which may have been the germ of the later Gnostic teaching, and he informed them that the wisdom of men is as nothing compared to the wisdom of God revealed in Christ. It would appear that, on the other hand, the Colossians had been drawn away from the simplicity of their faith by a peculiar combination of beliefs.

These errors would appear at first sight to be of four kinds. First of all they seemed to represent a tendency to philosophize upon the truths of the Gospel. In 2:8, Paul warns the Colossians, "Beware lest there be any man who leads you captive by his philosophy." In 2:18, he refers to some one who is "puffed up by his fleshly mind." The second error is also mentioned in 2:18, where reference is made to the worship of angels. A third error appears in 2:16, where the practice of some form of asceticism in refraining from eating and drinking is noted. This verse also refers to the keeping of feast days and new moons and Sabbaths as, perhaps, combined with angel worship in some form of Jewish legalism. The fourth error would seem to refer to initiations as practiced by the heathen cults, perhaps the tendency to make of the church a secret society.

Summing up these heresies, Paul warns against a combination of asceticism and angel worship, a philosophy or gnosis which was placed even above Christ, the introduction of initiations into the Christian brotherhood and an observance of Jewish feast days. Where, outside of Alexandria,

could such a combination of errors come from? There, the teaching of John with its asceticism held sway; there the philosophy of Philo was in the ascendency; there, there were many Jews as well as other eastern peoples. It would appear that these heresies were but the matured product of that "wisdom" which Apollos of Alexandria taught at Corinth in such a fascinating manner. In short, the peculiar teaching of the Gnostics had begun to trouble the churches of the East. Such errors were bound to come among a Gentile community so prone to eastern mysticism as cities like Colosse and Ephesus. In this instance it shows itself with a peculiar Jewish colour and looks like an attempt to syncretize the religions of the East in one system. Paul saw that in such a condition, Jesus would necessarily lose His preëminence and the church would relapse into some form of that legalism from which he had struggled so long to free it.

Accordingly he hastened to reply, presenting Christ, not as one of a number of unknowable powers, but as the supreme revelation of God. The salvation which He brings is absolute and final. If the Colossians are attracted to wisdom, he writes them in effect, let them remember that Jesus is that divine wisdom by which the world and all things else were brought into being. While Paul endeavours to present the saving work of Christ in philosophical language, he succeeds in making clear the heart of the Gospel which he preached. Christ died to reconcile man to God. Through faith in Christ we are partakers in His death and resurrection, by which He overcame death. We die and rise again with Him. This is not only a spiritual experience; it is also a moral experience which bears fruit in character and conduct. Morality is not reached through the observance of forms and ceremonies, nor through asceticism; but through faith in the redemptive acts of Christ.

EPHESIANS

The three letters, Philemon, Colossians and Ephesians are very closely related. The first two contain greetings from the same individuals; the last two refer to Tychicus who

is to act as Paul's messenger in the delivery of the letters and in the narration of personal news not contained in them. They are all closely related in thought and language. Philemon is a personal letter and does not enter into doctrinal matters; but the other two are closely connected in content. A careful examination of these two letters will disclose the fact that there is not a subject discussed in Ephesians which does not appear in Colossians also; but Colossians has a section, 2: 8–23, which has no parallel in Ephesians. Moreover the expressions used in the two letters are in many cases almost identical. Since the language and thought are different in some respects from those found elsewhere in Paul, the genuineness of both letters has been seriously questioned. The suggestion has been advanced that they represent the work of some writer who uses the name of Paul because he is anxious to obtain the authority such use would give; in other words, that they are plain forgeries. It will not be possible in a work of this kind and size to enter into any discussion of the technical arguments on this point, nor is it necessary. We are interested primarily in the missionary work of the Apostle and not in the arguments for or against the authenticity of the authorship of any particular letter. It is enough for our purpose that the Church has always accepted these letters as having come from the hand of Paul; and this position we unhesitatingly accept. The vast majority of Christian scholars are still on the side of conservative criticism of the Epistles and are not ready to throw overboard the Pauline authorship simply because there are a few matters difficult and, sometimes, even impossible of explanation.

Another question emerges, however, of which we cannot dispose so easily. This has to do with the destination of the Epistle. To whom was the letter which we know as Ephesians originally addressed? The present title was first disputed on internal grounds. It will be noticed that there are no personal greetings from Paul to the Ephesians. While this is not conclusive evidence that the Epistle was not addressed to the church at Ephesus, it is at least significant. Again, in 1: 15, Paul writes, " since I heard of your faith in

the Lord Jesus." That sounds, certainly, as if the church were known to him only by reputation. In 3: 2, he says, "if ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God which is given to me to youward." That seems to be a suggestion that the church knew him only by report. In 3: 4, he writes as if this letter is to be his credential to the church to which he writes. "Wherefore," he says, "when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ." There are still other verses which seem difficult of understanding if Paul were writing to the church at Ephesus; but these we have already quoted would seem to be conclusive. Paul was the founder of the Ephesian church and had spent three strenuous years there.

This evidence within the letter itself, is confirmed by testimony from the outside. Basil has placed himself on record that the manuscripts of his day omitted the words "in Ephesus," and carried no name at all. He further states that all the ancient manuscripts which he had examined were the same. Others of the Apostolic Fathers have made a like claim. The Codex in the Vatican library in Rome, perhaps the oldest manuscript extant, omits the words, "in Ephesus." Marcion declares that, in the collection of the Pauline letters with which he was familiar, the address carried the words, "in Laodicea."

Upon the above grounds the majority of scholars seem to be in agreement that the letter was not written to the Ephesians. Some have concluded that it was a treatise addressed to the Church at large; but the form of the salutation shows that this could hardly be so. The address seems to show that the name of some church was inserted—"Paul . . . to the saints which are ( ) and to the faithful in Christ Jesus." It has been assumed that the original MSS. bore the inscription "in Laodicea." In our discussion of the Epistle to the Colossians we noticed the reference to one sent to Laodicea at the same time as that to Colosse. From this fact, and on the testimony of Marcion, the foregoing assumption has been made.

This is frankly a guess and does not solve the problem. We are still left in bewilderment as to why the words, in

Laodicea, if they were in the original MSS., were dropped and the words, in Ephesus, substituted in later times. In this difficulty, Archbishop Usher originated the suggestion that Ephesians was a circular letter. This theory is possible, and is partly borne out by the fact that the church at Colosse was informed that a letter had been sent to Laodicea and would be sent on in due time for their perusal also. Usher's theory claims that there were several copies written at the same time, each bearing the Apostle's superscription in his own hand. The absence of any name in the older MSS. referred to above, is explained thus: the copyists, finding a number of MSS., each with a different name in the address, were confused, and finally left the title a blank. In later years, since most of the copies came from Ephesus, the commercial centre, gradually the words, "in Ephesus," became the standard reading.

It must be said that this is a very plausible solution of the difficulty and is, no doubt, the best explanation that has been offered. The matter might be summed up somewhat as follows: Tychicus was about to leave Rome for Colosse. Along with the letter to the Colossians, which he was commissioned to deliver, Paul decided to send one to the neighbouring churches, also, to warn them of the same dangers. He was also influenced by the fact that a letter from him would encourage them in their work. Paul was not known to these churches personally, (except at Ephesus, where the letter would also be read), but they knew of his work and of his sufferings for Christ. These churches, one of which was Laodicea, had much in common and faced the same dangers; they would be benefited by the same instruction and exhortation. Therefore he sent out the same letter in different copies.

This Epistle falls naturally into two parts, the one theological and the other practical and ethical. The first section contains a summary of the doctrines preached by Paul, and is put in the form of a thanksgiving. The opening section discusses God's purpose in Christ. This is followed by a prayer and by a recital of the dignity of Christ as the head of the Church. The final and absolute abolition of

the Jewish Law is forcefully stated. This section closes with the beautiful prayer and Doxology in chapter 3: 14–19:

"For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, that he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by his spirit in the inner man: that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints, what is the breadth and length and depth and height: and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God. Now, unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly, above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto him be glory in the church by Jesus Christ throughout all ages, world without end. Amen."

The closing section enjoins unity in the church, especially among Jews and Gentiles. They are all to strive "to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." Heathen vices must be put away and Christian virtues practiced by the members of the churches. The same rules for the guidance of domestic life, which Paul wrote to the church of Colosse, are given here in expanded form. The influence of the soldier, constantly chained to the Apostle in all his preaching and writing, is evident in his advice to the churches. In 6: 14–17 he writes:

"Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness; and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked, and take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God,"

and concludes this advice with an exhortation to prayer and watchfulness.

This division of the Epistle into two sections, the one theological and the other hortatory, is very similar to that

of the letter to the Romans. The earlier Epistle also closes its opening section, chapters 1–11, with a prayer and Doxology and opens the second with an exhortation. That wonderful chapter, Romans 12, begins thus:

"I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service. And be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable, and perfect will of God."

In this so-called letter to the Ephesians, after the prayer and Doxology which we have quoted, Paul begins his exhortation thus:

"I, therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with all lowliness, and meekness, with longsuffering, forbearing one another in love."

PHILIPPIANS

The Epistle to the Philippians belongs to the same period of Paul's imprisonment in Rome as the three letters which we have just discussed, Philemon, Colossians and Ephesians. In this letter, Paul speaks as if he is not sure of the outcome of his trial. To Philemon he had expressed such confidence that he seemed sure of visiting Colosse in the near future. From this fact it might appear as if Philippians were written during the second imprisonment. What has caused this change in Paul's expectations in so short a time?

We have seen that, upon his arrival in the capital, he was handed over to the Prætorian guard, of which Burrus was in command. Soon after the despatch of the letter to Philemon, Burrus died and was succeeded by two Prefects, Rufus and Tigellinus. The latter was the real ruler and overawed his colleague as well as the city. He was a man of the worst reputation, vicious and cruel, a creature of Nero, and the Apostle evidently thought that, as far as the Prefect could control the situation, there was little chance of

justice being done. Paul's fears in this regard must have been groundless, for we read of no change in his condition. To make the situation even worse, Nero married at this time Poppæa, the mistress with whom he had been living. She was a woman of fiendish cruelty and had caused the divorce and then the death of her rival, Octavia, Nero's wife. Poppæa was a proselyte to Judaism and used her influence and power to further the interests of the Jews in every way. Since these were the mortal enemies of Paul, he must have concluded that, as long as Poppæa remained in control, there was very little chance of his receiving any consideration. It was during this time, when the outlook was very gloomy, that Paul composed and despatched the Philippian letter in the care of Epaphroditus.

The latter, who appears to have been one of the influential Presbyters of the Philippian church, had come to Rome to visit Paul and to present him with gifts from the congregation he represented. While in Rome he became seriously ill, the effect, as we would gather from Paul, of the perils and dangers of his journey. Paul speaks of this messenger in the highest terms and expresses his gratitude to the Philippian church for their liberality. In Philippians 2: 25ff. he writes:

"Yet I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother and companion in labour, and fellow-soldier, but your messenger, and he that ministered to my wants. . . . For indeed he was sick nigh unto death: but God had mercy on him: and not on him only, but on me also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow."

When Epaphroditus recovered from his illness, Paul sent him forward with this letter to the Philippian church. This Epistle, as well as the fact that the congregation at Philippi had ministered to his wants on several occasions, proves the bond of sympathy that existed between him and his first Greek church. There is less of blame and more of praise and love in this letter than in any other Paul wrote. From it we form a high opinion of the character of his Philippian converts. He dwells upon their love for him as shown by

their liberality, which was above that of any other church. In the very highest terms he commends their constancy in the faith. They have been free from those doctrinal errors which have been disturbing the churches of Asia Minor. Even the Judaisers have made no impression upon this people. When Paul dwelt among them he had been free from the troubles caused by his countrymen. That he had to leave was the result of a riot caused by those who were greedy of gain.

While there is very little of censure, Paul considers it necessary to express his regret that some members of the congregation have been forgetting to emulate the humility of Christ. He mentions two of them by name, Euodia and Syntyche, and says that in the dispute over the chief seats, with which they have been disturbing the peace of the church, they have departed from that earnestness in the work which formerly they had shown. He pleads that unity may once more prevail. Though there are no doctrinal errors, he considers it wise to warn them, lest false teachers come in unawares. He tells them of his own condition in Rome and dwells upon the advancement of the work there.

It is a charming letter and the most wonderful passage which it contains gives us the Apostle's view of Christ. Indeed, this is one of the most beautiful passages in the whole of the New Testament, and we will close this chapter by quoting it without comment:

"Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: and, being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

XVII

THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

"Give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine."

THE Pastoral Epistles form a separate group consisting of two letters to Timothy and one to Titus. They are so called because they contain much useful information and advice as to how a pastor should carry on his work. Paul had commissioned his two young converts as undershepherds of the flock and had placed them in direct control of congregations. He writes these letters from a wealth of experience and he tells them what they should do and what they should avoid.

The Pauline authorship of these Epistles has been seriously questioned since the opening of the last century. Up to that time no doubt had been expressed, as far as we are aware, except by the Gnostics. Certain of the Apostolic Fathers, Tertullian, Jerome and Clement of Alexandria, are responsible for the information that the Gnostics refused to accept these letters as having come from the hand of Paul. The grounds of their refusal are to be found in the fact that the letters contain teaching that was opposed to their own peculiar doctrines. One wonders why they did not object to the Epistle to the Colossians for the same reason.

The problem of the authorship of the Pastorals has been a burning question for the past one hundred years. The whole matter turns on the view we take of Paul's imprisonment in Rome. In our discussion of the closing events of Paul's life we accepted the opinion that the Apostle was imprisoned in Rome, liberated after two years and then re-arrested and put to death. This view of the matter is supported by three main considerations. 1. Paul expressed the hope that he would be acquitted. From this we infer he had strong rea-

sons for this expectation. In the letter to Philemon this hope is so buoyant as to be almost confidence. In the Epistle to the Philippians he is still hoping, but is not so confident. We have already discussed Paul's fears in this regard and have come to the conclusion that they were groundless. 2. In the Pastoral Epistles there are many allusions which cannot be explained on any other grounds than that Paul was liberated in Rome. Besides these references there are visits, for example to Crete and Colosse, which cannot be worked into any other period of his life. Indeed, we must admit that the letters were written after an acquittal in Rome or that he did not write them at all. 3. Ecclesiastical testimony strengthens this view that Paul was liberated in Rome and then wrote these letters. The early Church accepted the Pastorals as genuine Pauline Epistles. This is abundantly clear from the writings of Ignatius, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Clement of Rome, Eusebius and Polycarp. That these early Church Fathers accepted these letters as from the hand of Paul might seem to have no connection with the question as to whether there was one, or were two imprisonments in Rome, until we recall to mind that we are forced either to concede the two imprisonments or to deny the Pauline authorship. It is interesting in this connection to remind ourselves that Clement of Rome informs us that Paul went to the farthest bounds of the West. Clement was almost a contemporary of the Apostle.

On the other hand, the view that there was only one imprisonment in Rome has not lacked support; but the arguments in favour of it seem to be only negative. Those who accept this latter theory point out that there is no adequate proof that Paul was liberated in Rome. They tell us that because the Apostle hoped to visit Philippi and Colosse is no justification for assuming that he did. They point to the fact that Paul's hopes were not always realized. To strengthen their position they quote the words of Paul to the Ephesian elders at Miletus, Acts 20: 25, " I know that ye all shall see my face no more." This, they claim, is proof that Paul did not visit the East again. One must recognize the force of this argument. At the same time, it would be much

stronger if it were not inconsistent. The main point of the contention is to be found in the fact that Paul's hopes were not always realized. They attempt to strengthen this by insisting that he could not have been mistaken in the hope expressed to the elders.

In answering the second argument—that the letters cannot be fitted into any other period of the Apostle's life—they state simply that he could not have written them at all. The argument from the tradition of the Church and from the writings of the Fathers is discarded as utterly untrustworthy, or as proving nothing at all.

Thus it will be seen that the authorship of the Pastorals and the history of the closing years of Paul's life become one problem. Dr. Davidson has attempted a middle position which would do away with the second imprisonment while retaining the Pauline authorship. He would place the writing of the letters, as well as the journeys they mention, during Paul's three years of residence in Ephesus. He objects to the view that Paul was liberated on the grounds that it is too arbitrary; but he entirely fails to explain why Luke has nothing to say of these journeys from Ephesus. As a matter of fact, the placing of these visits from Ephesus during Paul's ministry there is just as arbitrary as the position from which he tries to escape.

We turn now to a discussion of the internal evidence of the Pastorals. It is quite clear from the evidence which follows that these letters and the events of which they speak cannot be placed in any period of Paul's life recorded in Acts. According to I Timothy, Paul departed from Ephesus leaving Timothy there to carry on and to defend the work. In I Timothy 1: 3 Paul says, " as I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia." When we review what we know of Paul's connection with the church at Ephesus, we see that this could not have happened during the first visit. When Paul went from Corinth to Ephesus he took Aquila and Priscilla and he left them there. We do not know whether or not Timothy accompanied him. Paul remained only a few days and passed on to Jerusalem. The church at Ephesus had not as yet been established.

After a tour of inspection of his Galatian churches the Apostle returned to Ephesus and stayed there three years. When he left to gather up the collection from Macedonia and Achaia he went on to Macedonia first, but he had sent Timothy on before him. Timothy joined Paul in Macedonia and journeyed with him to Corinth. From here Paul travelled to Jerusalem and Timothy accompanied him. From this account it will be clear that the conditions of I Timothy 1: 3 cannot be fitted into Luke's account of Paul's connection with the church at Ephesus.

Continuing the study of I Timothy we note that the disciple is requested to bring a cloak which Paul had left at Troas. If we allow two years for Paul's imprisonment in Rome, the period which is mentioned by Luke, and two years of incarceration in Cæsarea, with time for the journey from Troas to Jerusalem and from Jerusalem to Rome, the last time Paul was in Troas was six years before. Since that time Timothy had been often with him. While it is not impossible that Paul is writing for a cloak which six years before he had left in Troas, it is, to say the least, highly improbable. Notice further that Paul says that he left Trophinus in Miletus. The only time we have any record of a visit of the Apostle to Miletus was on his last journey to Jerusalem. Trophinus was not left at Miletus on that occasion, for he was with Paul in Jerusalem. There are other difficulties also; but these will be sufficient to show that the circumstances will not fit any known period of Paul's life.

The impossibility of placing the Pastorals anywhere but in the interlude between two imprisonments is all but universally recognized. The only alternative to admitting that he was set free in Rome is to deny that he wrote these letters which bear his name. Many have not hesitated to do this. They attempt to strengthen their position by pointing out that the heresies against which the pastors were warned were those of a later age and had not made their appearance during the lifetime of Paul. We have already attempted to show that the false teachings against which the Colossians were warned belonged to a comparatively early period. Elements of Judaism and of later Gnosticism were intermingled.

These heretics of Colossæ were not the old Judaisers; they were men who had absorbed something of Jewish legalism; but they had added to it new ideas of the worship of the will, together with superstitions and the philosophy of Philo. They were puffed up in their minds and were putting wisdom before Christ as the head of the Church. In the Pastorals, however, we find a new kind of heresy. Its exponents have lost all understanding of the Law and are hypocrites and liars. These false doctrines are leading the people to godlessness of life and laxity of morals. Judaism and legalism have broken down. The internal evidence indicates that this is certainly a period beyond the latest of Paul's letters to other churches.

Yet, it should be pointed out that this is not the teaching of later Gnosticism. This, in the age succeeding Paul, was anti-Jewish. The city of Jerusalem and the Temple had been destroyed and the moorings of the Judaisers were gone. Legalism was not only non-existent; it was despised. The heresies against which Paul warns in the Pastorals do not go so far. It would appear that there is nothing said of these false doctrines which might not suit the very latest years of Paul's life.

It is also contended that the form of church organization displayed in these letters is too late to suit the age of Paul. In a former chapter we have attempted to show that there was considerable development in the matter of church government during the lifetime of Paul, and that such development was necessary and inevitable. There seems no difficulty in assuming that even before his imprisonment in Rome there were Presbyters, Deacons and Bishops.

Still another objection has been brought against the Pauline authorship of the Pastorals. It is claimed that the language and thought are both so different from what we find elsewhere in the writings of the Apostle that he could not have composed them. This question is far too large to receive any adequate discussion here. We will confine ourselves to a quotation upon the matter from one who has made a special study of the language of Paul. In his " Prolegomena " to the Pastorals Alford says:

"There is no denying that the Pastoral Epistles do contain very many peculiar words and phrases, and that the process of thought is not that which the earlier Epistles present. Still, our experience of men in general, and of St. Paul, himself, should make us cautious how we pronounce hastily on a phenomenon of this kind. Men's method of expression changes with the circumstances among which they are writing, and the persons whom they are addressing. Assuming the late date for our Epistles which we have already mentioned, the circumstances both of believers and false teachers had materially changed since most of those other Epistles were written. And if it be said that on any hypothesis it cannot have been many years since the Epistles of the imprisonment, we may allege on the other hand the very great difference in subject, the fact that these are addressed to his companions in the ministry, and contain directions for church management, whereas none of the others contain any passages so addressed or of such character."

From all the evidence discussed so briefly we see that there is no necessary reason why the Pastoral Epistles could not have been written by Paul. We see also that the only period from which they could have come was that following his two years' imprisonment in Rome. Hence it is assumed that he must have been set free. The letter to the Philippians was his last word written from Rome. At the trial which was then rapidly approaching, he was found not guilty of the charges which had been preferred against him in Cæsarea. Proceeding first to Spain he preached there for a period of unknown duration. Returning to the East he visited Philippi and came on to Ephesus which he made his headquarters. From here he visited Colosse, Laodicea and Hierapolis in turn.

During the long interval which Paul spent as a prisoner in Cæsarea and Rome, plus the long journey and the mission in Spain, seven years had passed by. It was a period of transition and many changes had taken place, especially in the East. Heresies that were to trouble the church for centuries were creeping into the congregations. The teachings of Jesus and Paul were being fused with ancient Judaism and with the philosophy of Alexandria.

Leaving Timothy in Ephesus, Paul travelled into Macedonia. From here, or from Achaia which he may also have visited, he wrote the first letter to Timothy, a letter full of warning, exhortation and direction for the young pastor and for the church over which he had been placed. From Macedonia he proceeded to Crete in the Mediterranean. Here Titus was left. It would appear that the church there had already been established but was in need of organization. Titus was the very man for the work and there was no one in whom Paul placed more confidence.

From Crete Paul went on to Nicopolis where Titus was to join him later. It seems that the journey was made via Miletus, Ephesus, Troas and possibly Corinth. Nicopolis was a Roman colony and Paul was arrested on the charge that he had been responsible for the great conflagration in Rome. It will be remembered that Nero had accused the Christians of setting fire to the city. Since the alleged crime had taken place in Rome, he was taken there for trial. He was thrown into prison as a common criminal. All his friends from Asia deserted him except Onesiphorus who came to him in prison. Demas, Crescens and Titus had left him. Tychicus was sent to Asia, to Ephesus. Of his old friends and companions only Luke was left with him. It seems probable that Tychicus had been despatched with the letter which we know as II Timothy. In this letter Paul pleads with his old friend to come to him before winter. Apparently there had been a preliminary trial; for Paul informed Timothy that he had come before the authorities and had defended himself. Following this we have no further information except the tradition of the Church. The general belief is that Paul was beheaded in Rome, in the autumn of 67 or the spring of 68 A. D. Thus the second letter of Timothy is Paul's last word.

It will be of interest to gather up what we know of this gentle soul of whom Paul was so fond, and of whose life he spoke in such high terms. When we first encounter Timothy he is living in Derbe or Lystra, probably the latter. His mother was a Jew and his father a Gentile. The mother and the grandmother, Lois, were Christians. Probably his father,

too, came into the fold of Christ. Timothy, himself, had been converted under the preaching of Paul during the first missionary journey. When the Apostle returned to Lystra he found his young convert so highly regarded as an enthusiastic Christian that he took him along as a helper. Being half Jew and half Gentile he would be very useful in the work. To make him even more successful as a co-labourer Paul had him circumcised, thus removing the last objection of the Jews. When next we hear of Timothy he has been left behind in Bercœa while the Apostle proceeded to Athens. From Bercœa he returned to Thessalonica on a mission for Paul whom he rejoined in Corinth. Evidently he settled down to the work in this city, for we find his name mentioned in the salutations of both the Epistles to the Thessalonians. These were written in Corinth.

The next reference to Timothy is to the effect that he ministered to Paul during the latter's stay in Ephesus. It would appear that he went there with Paul, though Luke does not mention this fact, informing us only that Aquila and Priscilla accompanied the Apostle. At any rate, when Paul returned to Ephesus to begin his work, Timothy was there to help him. Toward the close of the Ephesian ministry he was sent on ahead into Macedonia and possibly to Corinth. Later he joined Paul there and was present during the Corinthian ministry. In the journey to Troas Timothy went by sea while Paul took the land route.

At this point we lose all trace of Timothy. We do not know that he continued on to Jerusalem, though the supposition is that he did. We have no knowledge of what he was doing during Paul's long confinement in Cæsarea, or during the journey to Rome. We do know that he was present in Rome when the letters to Philemon, Colossians and Philippians were written. There is no further account of him until we come to the Pastorals. There it is mentioned that he was left in Ephesus to take care of the church while Paul went into Macedonia. In II Timothy, written from Rome, Paul issued a plea to his beloved son to join him there before winter. Whether or not he went we have no information; but there is a tradition of the Church which says that Tim-

othy was with Paul when the end came in Rome. One would like to think of the aged Apostle facing death with two such tried and true friends as Luke and Timothy by his side.

It is strange that Titus is never mentioned in Acts. There is no explanation of this peculiar fact; but it has been suggested that the reason is to be found in the desertion of Paul by Titus. We have, however, no definite information that he did desert Paul. His name is mentioned along with that of Demas, but it is possible that he was sent to Dalmatia by the Apostle.

Titus was a Gentile who had been converted by Paul. He was taken to Jerusalem by the two missionaries and was the cause of the great conflict there between Paul and certain of the Judaisers. He was with Paul in Ephesus and was sent forward to Corinth to arrange about the collection, but primarily to find out the true conditions of the church there. It is interesting to note that in a situation requiring delicacy and tact Titus was invariably the man chosen. He rejoined Paul in Macedonia. Later, as we have seen, he was left in Crete to effect an organization of the church and to ward off heresy. He seems to have joined Paul at Nicopolis and to have journeyed with him to Rome. There Titus left the Apostle and went to Dalmatia, but whether as a deserter or at the request of Paul, we do not know.

In the beginning of the chapter we noticed that these letters are fittingly called Pastorals. What could be more appropriate than that the last words of Paul should deal with the care of the churches? Paul was growing old and it was necessary that younger men should carry the work forward. He gave them some very valuable hints on the work of the ministry which every minister, young or old, would do well to read with care.

The main business of the pastor is to teach. He must be able to do many things, of course, and he has to face many problems; but his first consideration must be to tell "the old, old story." To do this he must know God; must be united with Christ in that life of the spirit which alone will guide him; and his moral character must be above reproach. The preacher, as Paul well knew, is the religious expert and

the religious dynamic of the community. He must preach "sound words." That means that he must preach the Gospel which upholds Christ as the Son of God, and the life of Christ as the only standard of living. The pastors must not only do this themselves, they must train up others to do it. This is the pastor's business.

XVIII

THE "MAD" EVANGELIST

"Paul, thou art beside thyself."

WE have looked into the whole life story of this remarkable man, Saul of Tarsus, made over by the providence of God, into that world citizen, the Apostle Paul. The story of his life, of his conquests for Christ, of his courage and endurance, of his astounding zeal, reads like a romance. It is the greatest story in all the annals of Christian life and literature. It remains for us to view the man himself. What manner of man was this who "turned the world upside down," whose cumulative influence has come down to our own day, who stands to-day, after the lapse of nineteen hundred years, as the greatest figure of human history? We will review briefly his gifts of body, mind and heart and, finally, the way in which these were "apprehended of Christ Jesus."

There is an ancient manuscript entitled, "The Acts of Paul and Thekla," to which brief reference has been made in a previous chapter. This story has come down to us in Greek, Latin, Syriac and Armenian. (See F. C. Conybeare, "Monuments of Early Christianity," pages 49–60; also a translation of the Armenian text which follows. Compare, also, Sir W. M. Ramsay, "The Christian Church in the Roman Empire," chapter 16.) Of these texts the Syriac and the Armenian are the best. The story is told that Onesiphorus went out to meet Paul, a description of whom had been furnished by Titus. When Paul appeared he is described in the story as being of "moderate stature, with curly hair and scanty; crooked legs; with blue eyes, and large-knit eyebrows; long nose; and he was full of the grace and pity of the Lord, sometimes having the appearance of a

man, but sometimes looking like an angel." The above quotation is from the Armenian text as given by Conybeare.

This account is not very flattering to the great Apostle; but it is substantiated to some extent by references in his own Epistles. In II Corinthians Paul refers to that which was commonly said of him by his antagonists. These claimed, as the Apostle himself tells us, that though his letters were powerful, " his bodily presence was weak and his speech contemptible." In the Philippian Epistle, 3: 21, Paul refers in disparaging words to his body. Though he is speaking in general terms, it seems clear that he is referring to himself when he says, " Who shall change our vile body? " In II Corinthians 12: 7 Paul speaks of his thorn in the flesh which he calls " the messenger of Satan to buffet me." This thorn in the flesh, to which he frequently refers, is taken by scholars to mean that he suffered from some form of epilepsy. In Galatians Paul speaks very emphatically of his disabilities of the body. Galatians 4: 13–15 reads as follows, " Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto you at the first. And my temptation which was in my flesh ye despised not, nor rejected; but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where is then the blessedness ye speak of? For I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me." This quotation seems to imply not only a bodily ailment but sore or weak eyes.

These references are sufficient to show us that Paul was not of commanding presence. The story in Acts 14: 12, while it is not conclusive testimony that the Apostle was unprepossessing in mien and stature, yet indicates that in physical qualifications he was inferior to Barnabas. As Dr. Glover remarks, " He was no Jupiter." At the same time, that body which, at times, humiliated him must have been " uncommonly tough." One cannot read the story of his life in Acts, and in his own Epistles, without being lost in amazement and wonder at the things which he endured and still lived. Reference has previously been made to II Corinthians 12: 23ff., where Paul speaks of labours, stripes and beatings, prisons, shipwrecks, weariness and painfulness,

watchings, hunger, thirst, cold, nakedness, brigands, traitors and endless worry caused by many antagonists. There is a hint, also, that he was speaking of personal experience when in Romans 8: 35 he says, " Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? " How could a frail and sickly body endure such hardships and live through it all? Sometimes it seems that those who are denied the gift of bodily strength by nature, find compensation in an endowment which is above mere physical strength—the ability to bear up under much pain or long vigils. In times of strain, stress and sickness in the home, a little, weary, frail-looking woman will sometimes amaze her husband with her superior powers of endurance. Even so, we stand in awe as we think of the sufferings patiently and quietly borne by this hero of the Cross.

Added to this ability to suffer and still carry on his work, Paul had the gift of making friends, and of holding them. It has been said that to have a friend, one must be a friend. If that be true, and we cannot doubt that it is, then Paul must have been endowed in this regard, far beyond the average man. He had the gift of the great executive in choosing men that would be of invaluable assistance to him, and of binding them to him with bonds that no circumstances of life could sever. Paul boasted that for his Gospel he was dependent on no man. At the same time, he would have been the first to give due credit for his missionary accomplishments, to those faithful men and women who were associated with him in the work. The credit for the victory usually goes to the leader. The general wins the plaudits of the people and the rewards of his government. But, without the valour and dependability of his soldiers the battle would have been lost. This is not to disparage the work of Paul himself. It is merely to remind ourselves that he was assisted by as loyal a band of followers as is ever the lot of any commander to inspire and lead. Paul himself does justice to these co-labourers in the salutations of his letters. Just glance at even a partial list: Luke, Timothy, Titus, Barnabas, Silas, Lydia, Jason, Aquila and Priscilla, Ones-

imus, Aristarchus. Their names are almost legion as enumerated in Acts and in the Epistles; and they loved Paul and followed him with devoted loyalty. He bound them to himself, through Christ, in a common bond of service and of faithful endeavour. As Dr. Glover, in his "Paul of Tarsus," so finely says, "He is a leader of men—a Garibaldi, one might almost say, in adventure, and a Socrates in thought; he will carry his friends with him into all sorts of risks, for Christ's sake, and he will emancipate their minds, not by a dialectic method, though he uses that, but by winning their trust and giving them new ideas."

Thus, we pass to a brief consideration of his gifts of character and temperament. In the crisis of life God always raises up the man that is needed. If He fits the back for the burden, He also gives the mind for the task. Some one was needed to lift Christianity out of the narrowness of Jewish legalism to which it seemed doomed to be chained; and God brought forth the Apostle Paul. No one can read his letters intelligently without realizing his force of character and his independence of mind. He was independent of man's judgment and of man's help. He was a masterful man who went his own way, supremely convinced that God had been revealed to him in Christ. Paul was the type of man who hews to the line; there was nothing of softness or of moral flabbiness in his make-up. As one has finely said, If you can find a man's quitting point you can measure him; but if he has no quitting point, if he will not take his eyes from the light, there is no limit to his accomplishments. Paul was a man of the latter type. When he was a persecutor he was willing to go the whole way; when he was a Christian he was willing to do the same thing; and no combination of men and of circumstances could make him turn his face from the light which he had seen on the Damascus road. He drew a straight line in all his thinking. There was never any middle position with Paul. It was always the old man or the new man; light or darkness; life or death; Christ or the devil. Such minds may be single track minds, but they always leave a straight trail in their thinking and in their living. You always know just where to find them at any

given moment; and Paul left about the straightest trail between earth and heaven of any man who ever lived.

Paul had that peculiar and uncommon combination of mysticism and hard, practical, common sense; of great mental alertness together with balance. His mind blazed like a star and he swooped from idea to idea with breath-taking rapidity. Yet, when he came down to earth to face the sordidness of strife, of vain-glory, of lust and sin, he seemed to know unerringly just how to deal with the problems they presented. You come away from a study of his Epistles feeling, as Dr. Glover says, that "You have been with a man of genius; you have swept with him from peak to peak, vision to vision; you have tried to keep pace with his moods and with his subjects; you have consorted with a man of elemental force, wondered why he was not a poet and why he was so much more than any poet; and all the time you have been growing to love more and more the greatest being that ever followed Jesus Christ and had Christ living in him."

But other men have had great gifts of mind and heart, with greater physical powers than Paul possessed, and have not gone nearly so far as servants of Christ, nor left such "footprints on the sands of time." What was the secret of his power? If we return for a moment to the story of Paul before Festus in Cæsarea, we see that the Governor thought the Apostle mad. Festus might well come to that conclusion. If you study the speech of Paul on that occasion, you will be convinced that it is not in any sense a defense of himself. It is a sermon preached to Festus, Agrippa and Bernice. He took the opportunity that offered, not to defend himself, but to preach Christ, to defend his faith, to rejoice in his commission, to show a zeal for Christ and a passion for the souls of men. He stood before the Governor and the King, who had power to destroy him, and his plea was that they needed Christ. Festus called it madness, but Paul called it being true to his heavenly vision.

Addressing the King, he said, "Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision." That is the first reason for Paul's zeal. As he had journeyed

along the way, a hand had reached down from the heavens and had laid hold upon him; a strange light not only flashed around him but illumined his mind, as well; a new voice had hushed all other noises and had bade Paul consider his way. The result was that the persecutor became a new creature. This conviction, that Jesus had laid hold upon him, was the secret of all Paul's life that followed. He had always remained true to the heavenly vision.

No man can hope to accomplish much for Christ who has not had something of the same experience. We do not like the word conversion. It speaks too much of interference with our wills; it reminds us too forcibly of sawdust trails and of excitement. But why quibble over names? No man has ever accomplished much for the Master who has not had his heavenly vision, and who, in the midst of much that is distracting, has not kept his eyes upon the light. Only they to whom life in Christ takes on a new direction, a new meaning and power, to whom Christ is an overpowering reality, can go far in the work of the Master.

If we look at the words which follow Paul's intimation of this secret of his power, we find that he adds still another enlightening phrase. "Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great; saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come." Here is another reason for Paul's greatness: he fell back upon the help of God and the Word of God. He was true not only to the heavenly vision, but also to the presence of God and to His Word. That made him unafraid in the midst of terrors and persecutions that would have daunted most men. Before kings and slaves, and all the strata of society between, Paul had one thought and one aim: to preach Jesus Christ as the power of God and the wisdom of God. He was, as he tells us, determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified.

Yes, Paul was an Evangelist. He brought good news. But was he a "mad" Evangelist as Festus claimed? Festus proclaimed with a loud voice, "Paul, thou art beside thyself; much learning doth make thee mad." From the standpoint

of the Roman Governor Paul must have seemed mad. He was a Roman citizen by birth. That proud position brought with it the open road to office, wealth and honour; but he, too, chose to make "himself of no reputation," making himself a man without a country that he might win men to Christ. Paul's chains, as he stood before Festus, were evidence enough in the eyes of the Governor that he had chosen to throw away his opportunities to chase an ideal. In the eyes of the Roman Paul was mad.

In the view of Agrippa, also, he must have appeared as one who was beside himself. From the standpoint of the Jew, Paul might have gone far. He was educated in all the laws and customs of his people, a graduate of Gamaliel's school. Indeed, his accomplishments and his native ability had brought him rapidly to the front, while still a very young man. He could easily have become the greatest man of his nation. Yet he had thrown away his opportunities, antagonized his people and made himself a man ostracized and hunted down, to follow a will-o'-the-wisp. In the eyes of Agrippa, too, Paul was mad.

No doubt there were others present who thought the same thing. He refused to be a bigoted sectarian; he cared nothing for money, fame or influence; he was indifferent to public opinion. Instead, he became a world citizen, refusing to identify himself with any race or nation, that he might be "all things to all men." He was a man of one loyalty, desiring only to burn himself out for Christ. Nothing else mattered. Henceforth he must follow the gleam, regardless of where it led him. His one aim must be to follow, to reveal and to interpret Christ.

Some men are troubled about the miracles in the Bible. What about the miracle of Paul's life? Here is the greatest wonder of them all, that the Master could take one who was His bitterest enemy, and so breathe into him His own spirit, that he became a man of one aim and one passion—and that the very opposite of all that he had been before—to proclaim Christ unto all the world and to interpret Him to men. Some are troubled about the difference between the Jesus of the Gospels and the Christ of Paul; and they are

anxious to know which of the two they are to accept. But the difference is more apparent than real. It is a difference, not of essence but of emphasis. The Gospel writers are interested in the Jesus with whom they lived, the Man of Galilee, the friend, the teacher, the healer, the preacher. They present the story of one who was born in a manger and died upon a cross. Paul, on the other hand, is not a reporter of what Jesus said and did; he is an interpreter of Christ. Paul knew the story of Jesus' life; and he is anxious to make plain the reasons why Jesus of Nazareth, who lived, breathed, suffered, felt loneliness, loved and died, was the same glorified Jesus whom he saw while he was on the Damascus road.

The secret was in the fact that he loved. Christ died for men because He loved men. The implication to Paul was plain. Indeed, Jesus had pointed it out in the upper room. He took a towel and a basin of water and washed the disciples' feet. Then He said to them, "If I, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you." If Jesus was willing to pay the price of His love for men, why should not Paul be willing to pay the price of his love for Christ? Follow the Apostle about his work in Asia and in Europe; see his determination to visit Jerusalem; note his courage before the mob, before Felix, Festus, Agrippa and Nero. Then let us ask, What is the secret of his life; why this indifference to personal comforts; why this rejoicing in tribulation? Paul is paying the price of his salvation. He is following his vision of the risen Christ.

Not only does Paul follow the logic of the Cross in his own life; he calls upon every man who has faith in Christ to do the same thing. We are justified by faith in Christ, as Paul makes plain; but faith that is worthy of the name will transform life. Paul was at least consistent. He gave himself with passionate earnestness to Christ; and he called upon his converts to do the same thing.

Thus we see the great Apostle, a small and ungainly man, but a giant in intellect, with a deeply affectionate disposi-

tion, a man of great fearlessness and of heroic endurance. We see him with a practical wisdom which is usually associated with a less fiery temperament, and a tolerance rarely coupled with such ardent convictions. In his moral development he was great and noble. To his honesty of purpose, which no man can question, there was added a great humility and a generosity of soul. In him there was nothing mercenary or selfish, and he lived with a noble devotedness to a great cause. These are characteristics which add to his greatness a grandeur and a sublimity.

We feel that here was a humble and devoted servant of Christ whose life was " hid with Christ in God " ; a man to be admired and loved; a teacher at whose feet we may sit with " unhesitating docility " ; a friend to us as he is to every one who is seeking the light. He had many gifts and " manifestations of the spirit " ; but his highest claim to honour is to be found in the fact that, transformed by the love of Christ, he consecrated himself, body, soul and spirit, to the work of the Master in the regeneration of mankind. For this reason the Christian world has always accorded him the foremost place among the heroes of the Cross and among the benefactors of the race.

APPENDIX

THE CHRONOLOGY OF PAUL'S LIFE

Comparative Table of the events in the life of Paul.

	Turner	Harnack	Ramsay	Bacon	Lightfoot
Crucifixion of Jesus	29	29–30	30	30	30
Conversion of Paul	35–36	30	33	38	34
Second visit to Jerusalem	46	44	46	44–45	45
First journey	47	45	47	45–47	48
Council of Jerusalem	49	47	50	48	51
Arrest at Corinth	50	48	51	50	52
Third journey	52	50	53	52	54
Arrest in Jerusalem	56	54	57	55	58
Arrival in Rome	59	57	60	58	61
Death of Paul	64–65	64	65	–	67

A review of the above table will show the difficulty of arranging the dates of Paul's life. It is impossible to prepare a schedule with anything but approximation. There are many references in Acts and the Epistles; yet it is difficult to pin them down to any definite date recorded in history. The method has been to select a date which seems assured and then to work backward and forward from the information given by Luke and by Paul himself. Thus the table is mapped out and confirmed.

Luke indicates in Acts 12:19–23, that Paul was in Antioch with Barnabas when Herod died. Herod's death is placed in 44 A. D. But there is no means of knowing how long Paul had been there. Again, an attempt has been made to work from the pro-consulship of Felix. Until recent years this has been the starting point of most investigators. Since Paul was kept in prison for two years by Felix, it is assured that his imprisonment in Cæsarea began two years before the removal of the Governor. Here we find great difficulty, if not impossibility in setting a date. The removal of Felix has been placed all the way between 55 and 60. Eusebius says that Festus succeeded Felix in the second year of the reign of Nero. This is doubted by most scholars since he

was appointed in 52. When Paul was addressing Felix, soon after his arrest, he said, "Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation, I do cheerfully make my defense." It would seem most probable that the "many years" would be at least five. If Paul was kept in prison for a period of two years after this speech, as seems certain, that would bring the removal of Felix as late as 59. Thus Paul's arrival in Rome would be in 60 or 61.

This method of fixing the date is evidently an approximation. A further aid has been supplied by a discovery, in the field of archæology, of the Delphian inscription. This claims that Gallio was pro-consul of Achaia in 51–52 A. D. Thus we find Paul in Corinth in that year. The Apostle spent approximately eighteen months in the Greek capital. By this means we can place his residence there from 50–52 A. D. This period was during the second missionary journey. When we consider the fact that he began this adventure with a tour of the churches of Galatia, and that he worked in the cities of Macedonia and Achaia, the second journey would fall between 48–52. Paul began this work immediately after the Council of Jerusalem. Thus we place that event in the year 48 A. D. Paul tells us that the period between the Council and his first visit to the city was fourteen years. (This may include or exclude the time spent in Syria and Cilicia, plus the one year in Antioch.) Thus we place the first visit to Jerusalem from 34 to 37. On this basis Paul's conversion may be anywhere between 31 and 34.

When we consider the matter from the year of Herod's death, we arrive at substantially the same conclusion. Herod died, as we have already noted, in 44 A. D. In that year Paul was in Antioch with Barnabas. According to Luke, they were there for a year preceding the famine visit. After that event came the first missionary journey. If this visit to alleviate the sufferings from hunger was in the year 44–45, and if the first journey occupied the years 45–47, the Council would follow in 47–48.

Again, if we presume that Felix was removed in 58–59, and if we work backward from that event, we find that Paul was arrested in Jerusalem in 56–57. Allowing one year for the matters of the collection and three years for residence in Asia, we place the close of the second journey

in 52–53. This European enterprise, with a preliminary visit to the Galatian churches, must have occupied at least four years. Thus we arrive at the conclusion that the Council must have been held 48–49. This, too, is in substantial agreement with the other methods of approach.

On this basis the chronology of Paul's life would work out somewhat as follows:

Crucifixion of Jesus	30 A. D.
Conversion of Paul	31–34
First visit to Jerusalem	34–37
Council of Jerusalem	48
Second missionary journey	48–51
Before Gallio	51
In Asia	51–55
Winter in Corinth	56
Arrest in Jerusalem	57
In prison in Cæsarea	57–59
Voyage to Rome	59–60
Arrival in Rome	Spring of 60
Imprisonment in Rome	60–62
Release	62–63
Spain and the East	63–66
Re-arrested	65–66
Death	66–67

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